EMOTIONAL DISPLAY RULES FOR CLERICAL WORKERS, TEACHERS, CUSTODIANS, AND CAFETERIA WORKERS IN PENNSYLVANIA K-12 PUBLIC SCHOOL ORGANIZATIONS

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Over the last century, the service industry became the greatest provider of jobs in the United States. A key part of service professions are the interactions between employees and customers. During these interactions, employees are likely to express emotions (Rafaeli and Sutton, 1987). In 1983, Hochschild (1983/2012) researched these interactions and developed the theory of emotional labor. Understanding the importance of employee and customer interactions, research of the theory in the retail and hospitality industries developed. The same is beginning to occur in the field of K-12 education.

Schools now compete for students making customer service an important aspect of daily operations (Cucchiara, Gold, & Simon, 2011). Interactions between school employees, students, and parents affect retention and recruitment causing the need to provide employees with guidance to ensure positive interactions. Display rules are an operational part of emotional labor, which guide emotional expressions by employees. While emotional display rules offer employees guidelines to do their jobs successfully (Diefendorff & Gosserand, 2003), existing research of K-12 teachers and administrators shows display rules are implied not explicit. The creation of display rules is the responsibility of the organization (Rafaeli and Sutton, 1987), but

as of this time, there is no known research of emotional display rules from the perspective of the K-12 organization.

This research began to address this by conducting a survey of the Pennsylvania Association of School Personnel Administrators membership, which explored the extent to which K-12 public school organizations in Pennsylvania provide and communicate emotional display rules to secretaries (administrative assistants), teachers, custodians, and cafeteria workers. The overall findings indicate Pennsylvania K-12 public school organizations provide emotional display rules rarely to often depending upon employee group. The display rules were more likely to exist for expressions of concern and calmness than for anger and frustration. In addition, the personnel administrators identified individual conversations as the most commonly used method to communicate display rules across employee groups. The findings provide implications for practice and future research for the employee groups individually and collectively.

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PREFACE

The completion of this dissertation was truly a labor of love planted on a strong foundation of support, encouragement, and expertise. Throughout this process and my life, God has blessed me with people who have guided me to reach my goals and accomplish my dreams.

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1.0 INTRODUCTION

A weary traveler enters a hotel lobby in the middle of the night. After several delays, a long flight, and horrible rain, he is miserable and angry. Approaching the front desk, the hospitality manager welcomes the traveler with a smile and a friendly greeting. The employee remains cheerful while the customer is rude and abrupt throughout the interaction. The traveler receives his room key and a pleasant "good night" as he heads to his room. Unbeknownst to the traveler, the hospitality manager who appeared happy is currently working her second eight-hour shift, is horribly tired, and has a sick child. In this scenario, the manager masked her true feelings in order to provide a positive customer service experience as expected by her employer.

Over the last century, industrial labor has dramatically decreased while service trades surged. In 2011, service industry jobs accounted for 68% of the United States GDP and accounted for four out of every five jobs (Office of the United States Trade Representative [OUSTR], n.d.). Most, if not all, of the professions that comprise this statistic expect workers to exhibit a variety of emotions that are appropriate to the service field when interacting with customers (Rafaeli & Sutton, 1987). These interactions can include positive, negative, or neutral emotional displays. Exchanges with customers in the retail and hospitality industries are enthusiastic and friendly while funeral directors or bill collectors appear either as sad or hostile. In other professions, such as law or medicine, neutral emotions imply a lack of bias or firm

confidence. The emotions exhibited by each profession derive from workplace and/or societal or cultural expectations (Hochschild, 1983/2012).

In 1983, A. R. Hochschild researched the emotional expectations placed upon employees and presented the findings in her seminal work *The Managed Heart: Commercialization of Human Feeling*. Hochschild's (1983/2012) research focused on flight attendants working for Delta Airlines. Part of her data collection involved the observation of training courses for the flight attendants, which detailed how the women were to shape their emotions for appropriate interactions with passengers (Hochschild, 1983/2012). During the observation of one of the training sessions, Hochschild notated the label "emotional labor" to describe the expectations Delta Airlines placed upon the flight attendants. The unveiling of this theory in her seminal work sparked a field of research that continues to develop. To date, the greatest volume of emotional labor research has occurred in the fields of retail and hospitality because of the premise that successful customer interactions help these industries to remain competitive (Kim, Yoo, Lee, & Kim, 2012). Outside of these industries, emotional labor research is still in the early stages. This is especially true for the field of education (Tsang, 2011).

However, the amount of research about emotional labor in education is beginning to change. Just as market-driven forces compelled leaders in retail and hospitality to explore emotional labor (Hochschild, 1983/2012; Kim, et al., 2012), leaders in K-12 public school organizations are moving in the same direction. Schools now need to supply the best educational environment possible to attract and retain students, because parents are acting as consumers and are demanding the finest educational placement for their children (May, 2007). This change in the school and family dynamic has caused educational leaders to begin to explore the interpersonal and emotional interactions between employees, parents, and students.

Educational employees, including teachers and administrators, now must interact with parents and students in a manner similar to the hospitality manager in the opening scenario. Additional research of emotional labor in education would further the understanding of this dynamic. Before a direct research contribution can occur, a review of the existing literature will provide foundational knowledge of the theory and existing research. The review of the literature will answer the following questions: (a) What is the theory of emotional labor? (b) How has the theory of emotional labor been studied in K-12 schools? (c) What are the implications for the use of emotional labor in school organizations?

2.0 LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 DEFINITION OF EMOTIONAL LABOR

2.1.1 Original Definition

The employment opportunities available during the Industrial Revolution of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries involved extensive physical labor and focused employees' daily efforts on machines and materials. This structure changed in the twentieth century when workers experienced a shift to a post-industrial society, which involved a decrease in economic dependency on physical labor and an increase in areas such as technology, research, and service (Bell, 1976). This is evident as the service industry now accounts for the overwhelming majority of the employment and United States GDP (OUSTR, n.d.).

The growth of the service industry changed the work required of employees from physical labor and product manufacturing to the application of employees' personalities necessitating that people "actively manage feelings in order to make their personalities fit for public-contact work" (Hochschild, 1983/2012, p. 229). Hochschild (1983/2012) labeled this employer expectation "emotional labor" and defined it as "the management of feeling to create a publically observable facial and bodily display [which is]…sold for a wage" (p.7). Emotional labor compels employees to control their minds and feelings to either create or suppress an emotion to elicit a preferred

reaction in customers, patients, or students (Hochschild, 1983/2012). Emotional labor theory is exclusive because it focuses on management of emotions to perform and maintain employment to make a wage, but it is not exclusive in the focus on emotional control.

2.1.2 Emotional Labor vs. Emotional Regulation

The need for emotion control within emotional labor theory can lead to the misnomer that emotional regulation is an interchangeable label when discussing emotional labor theory. Emotional regulation is "the processes by which individuals influence which emotions they have, when they have them, and how they experience and [express] these emotions" (Gross, 1998, p. 275). Researchers, such as Grandey (2000), have tried to merge these two concepts by making the connection that both emotional labor and emotional regulation require one to control feelings and emotive expressions. Grandey (2000) attempted to use a general application of the emotional regulation theory and associate it with a workplace situation to show a direct link to emotional labor. Grandey (2000) endeavored to highlight this correlation:

> The job environment or a particular work event may induce an emotional response in the employee (e.g., anger, sadness, anxiety), and behaviors may follow that would be inappropriate for the encounter….Because the display rules state that such reactions are not appropriate, emotional labor regulates his or her response. This regulation involves modifying feelings by 'thinking good thoughts' or reappraising the event (deep acting), or modifying expression by faking or enhancing facial or bodily signs of emotion (surface acting). (p. 99)

Grandey's (2000) description applies emotional labor components and details how in the application of emotional labor one regulates his or her emotions. Although regulation is involved in emotional labor, there is a difference between the two theories.

Emotional regulation occurs when an individual privately controls his or her emotions to determine the appropriate display for any given situation (Gross, 1998). Application of emotional regulation is not limited to a specific part of a person's life or directly regulated by an external body. However, emotional labor occurs when an individual determines his or her emotional expression based upon the emotional display rules established by his or her workplace and puts his or her emotions "into the public marketplace" (Hochschild, 1983/2012, p.14) making it into a commodity for an organization.

The conflation of emotional labor and emotional regulation occurs because both theories involve emotional displays appropriate for a situation that may or may not align with one's actual feelings. However, the theories begin to diverge when explaining how a person determines which emotion to express. In emotional labor, an employee cognitively channels his or her emotions in the workplace based upon emotional display rules provided through training, direction, and/or supervision from an employer in order to perform his or her service work successfully to make a wage. The application of emotional regulation can occur during any human interaction. The determination of the appropriate emotional display relies upon a person's perception of the situation. The implication of the emotional display may be positive or negative, but it does not directly align with one's work performance. When regulation of a person's emotions moves from individual control (emotional regulation) to external control by an organization's emotional display rules (emotional labor), the two theories no longer coincide. Therefore, one cannot correctly use the terms interchangeably within emotional labor research as the process a person

uses to identify his or her expressed emotions is controlled differently resulting in different implications for the individual.

2.1.3 Growth of Emotional Labor Theory

Hochschild's (1983/2012) book began a new era of research in understanding emotional expression and response in the workplace. As shown by the need to differentiate emotional labor from emotional regulation, the original understanding of emotional labor has undergone growth and expansion because of ongoing research and exploration. Researchers have applied different theories such as emotional regulation theory (Grandey, 2000), social identity theory (Ashforth & Humphrey, 1993), and the interactionist model (Morris & Feldman, 1996) to emotional labor theory in order to understand, explain, and implement the theory in various organizations. Many researchers have endeavored to grow and/or reshape the definition with four seminal works accomplishing this task.

In 1993, Ashforth and Humphrey published an article broadening the original definition of emotional labor theory. The researchers presented a definition that expanded the focus of emotional labor from strictly an internal process to an external process. The definition expanded to include "the act of displaying appropriate emotion" (Ashforth & Humphrey, 1993, p. 90) in compliance with established display rules. By adding the word, act, to the definition, the researchers expanded emotional labor from being a mental process managed internally by an employee to observable, external behaviors. Ashforth and Humphrey (1993) focused on the behavioral aspect of emotional labor because application of the theory focuses on the emotions the employee exhibits not on how he or she internally feels.

The definition of emotional labor further expanded in a 1996 publication by Morris and Feldman. While Ashforth and Humphrey (1993) helped to broaden emotional labor theory through the incorporation of behaviors, Morris and Feldman (1996) reconnected with Hochschild's (1983/2012) conception of emotional labor and addressed the application of the theory. By maintaining emotion as a once privately controlled human element now used as a marketplace commodity controlled by external expectations, Morris and Feldman added a focus on the employee's "effort, planning, and control needed to express organizationally desired emotions during interpersonal transactions" (p. 987). Their understanding applies the interactionist model that incorporates the effects of the social environment and the work required to express the appropriate emotions requiring a level of effort even when the expressed and felt emotions correlate with an employee's actual feeling (Morris and Feldman, 1996). By joining Hochschild's theory and the interactionist model, Morris and Feldman provided an expanded definition to include the need to understand the effort and ability of an employee to display emotions and work in established expectations.

The third work to expand insight into the theory occurred when Grandey (2000) attempted to establish a link between emotional labor and emotional regulation. Grandey's (2000) research applied emotional regulation theory to emotional labor, which broadened the understanding of emotional labor to include "the process of regulating both feelings and expressions for the organizational goals" (p. 97). This addition to the theory focuses on the internal control aspect needed for an employee to express the appropriate emotions in the workplace. The addition of emotional regulation to emotional labor theory provides a means to help explain how an employee displays an emotion he or she does not feel. As previously stated, incorporation of

emotional regulation can support emotional labor strategies but is not interchangeable with emotional labor.

After Grandey's publication in 2000, she collaborated with Diefendorff and Rupp, professors in Industrial/Organizational Psychology, to identify a cross-section of perspectives to help clarify the understanding of emotional labor theory. Grandey, Diefendorff, and Rupp (2013) explored emotional labor through three different "lenses" (p. 5) that included occupational requirements (sociology focus), emotional displays (organizational behavior focus), and intrapsychic processes (psychology focus). The researchers argue that a clear understanding of emotional labor theory requires collaboration across the three perspectives, but often researchers view emotional labor through a single lens that results in an unclear picture of the theory (Grandey et al., 2013). By applying all three perspectives, the authors contend that emotional labor is "when emotional regulation is performed in response to job-based emotional requirements in order to produce emotion toward – and to evoke emotion from – another person to achieve organizational goals" (Grandey et al., 2013, p.18). This explanation builds upon Grandey's (2000) previous work that strives to connect emotional regulation and emotional labor. The authors' contention identifies the organization as the source for establishing the expected emotional display, which addresses one of the previously identified issues in connecting the two theories. However, the implications of showing the expected emotional display remain at odds between the two theories as Grandey et al. connect emotional display expectations to an employee's position, but not to the ability to earn a wage (p.18). The explanation addressed the individual versus organizational conflict between emotional regulation and emotional labor theories, but the implications of applying the two theories continue to be different.

The growing research of emotional labor has contributed to the evolution of the theory of emotional labor. Table 1 offers a summary of definitions of emotional labor from seminal works that have helped to expand the understanding of the theory.

Table 1. *Emotional Labor Definitions from Seminal Works*

Author(s)	Publication	Definition
Hochschild (1983/2012)	*The Managed Heart: Commercialization of Human Feeling*	"The management of feeling to create a publically observable facial and bodily display [which is] sold for a wage" (p.7)
Ashforth & Humphrey (1993)	"Emotional labor in service roles: The influence of Identity"	"The act of displaying the appropriate emotion" (p.90) in compliance with established display rules
Morris & Feldman (1996)	"The dimensions, antecedents, and consequences of emotional labor"	"The effort, planning, and control needed to express organizationally desired emotions" (p.987)
Grandey (2000)	"Emotion regulation in the workplace: A new way to conceptualize emotional labor"	"The process of regulating both feelings and expressions for the organizational goals" (p. 97)

Table 1 (continued)

Grandey, Diefendorff, & Rupp (2013)	"Bringing emotional labor into focus: A review and integration of three research lenses"	"When emotional regulation is performed in response to job-based emotional requirements in order to produce emotion toward- and to evoke emotion from – another person to achieve organizational goals" (p.18)

These seminal works expound on Hochschild's (1983/2012) original conception of emotional labor and contain overlapping themes that support the development of an operating definition and the research presented in this paper. First, service industry employees display emotions that are in accordance with rules established by their employer. Second, to generate the expected emotions, an internal process occurs to identify and present the appropriate emotive behavior. Third, the emotions dictated by the employer and exhibited by the employee occur to produce a preferred reaction during an interpersonal interaction.

The seminal works in Table 1 shape the current understanding of emotional labor theory. The operating definition of emotional labor for this paper is the suppression, inducement, or natural expression of emotional behaviors directed by organizational goals that elicit a desired reaction through interpersonal reactions (Ashforth & Humphrey, 1993; Grandey, 2000; Grandey et al., 2013; Hochschild, 1983/2012; Morris & Feldman, 1996).

2.2 EMOTIONAL LABOR KEY TERMS

The discussion of emotional labor up to this point shows the need for operational terms to maintain the fidelity of the theory. In addition to the operational definition, knowing the key terms to explain the components is essential to ensure research is accurately applying the theory. Emotional labor theory involves the existence of emotional (feeling/display) rules and surface acting, deep acting, or natural/genuine emotional expression. Table 2 provides a summary of the key terms.

Table 2. *Emotional Labor Key Terms*

Key Term	Definition	Application Example
Emotional Display Rules	**Feeling Rules** are "standards used in emotional conversation to determine what is rightly owed and owing in the currency of feeling" (Hochschild, 1983/2012, p.18). **Display Rules** are "norms regarding the expected management of facial appearance" (Eckman, 1973/2006, p. 176) and "refer to behavior rather than to internal states" (Ashforth & Humphrey, 1993, p. 90).	On the first day of work, new employees at a retail chain learn how to greet customers with a smile, use a pleasant voice to answer questions, and remain calm with a difficult customer. These expectations are available via training and a handbook.
Surface Acting	Surface acting is the presentation of emotions that differ from the emotions a person is truly feeling internally (Hochschild, 1983/2012).	A teacher feels frustrated and angry with a student. Instead of yelling, she kindly smiles and reminds the student how to act.

Table 2 (continued)

Deep Acting	Deep acting occurs when a person either encourages a feeling, uses his or her imagination, applies a previous experience, reassesses or changes his or her perspective of a situation to invoke or modify his or her feelings to truly feel an emotion that is appropriate to the display rules of a given environment (Grandey, 2000; Hochschild, 1983/2012; Kruml & Geddes, 2000).	A personnel manager develops feelings of empathy for a recently furloughed employee who is angry and yelling. The manager develops feelings of empathy by remembering how she felt when being displaced in a previous position.

Table 2 (continued)

Natural/Genuine Expression	Natural or genuine expression involves the demonstration of emotions that are naturally felt without acting or prompting and are in alignment with the expected display rules of an organization (Ashforth & Humphrey, 1993; Morris & Feldman, 1996; Rafaeli & Sutton, 1987).	A mortician is sad and displays this emotion when working with a family who has lost a loved one.

2.2.1 Emotional Display Rules

A guiding principle of emotional labor theory is the need for external controls from an employer on employee emotional expression. The controls establish the expectations of appropriate emotional expression during interpersonal exchanges for a worker to succeed in a position and maintain employment. Organizations can provide this information in a multitude of ways such as training, handbooks, and evaluations and through workplace cultures.

Eckman (1973/2006) introduced the concept of display rules. Eckman defined display rules as the "norms regarding the expected management of facial appearance" (p. 176). A

person's culture establishes the display rules he or she is to follow. The display rules guide an individual to ensure he or she manages his or her expressed emotions so others view them as appropriate for a given situation. In her research, Hochschild (1983/2012) applied Eckman's concept of display rules, but identified the external controls placed on a person as feeling rules. Feeling rules are "standards used in emotional conversation to determine what is rightly owed and owing in the currency of feeling" (Hochschild, 1983/2012, p. 18). An organization establishes display/feeling rules to help guide employees to accomplish the employer's purpose. The organization derives these rules from cultural and societal norms (Hochschild, 1983/2012).

Culture and society set the tone for appropriate emotional responses to life's events. Rules established for both positive and negative events can differ by societal group or culture (Ashforth & Humphrey, 1993; Eckman 1973/2006; Hochschild, 1983/2012). Through observation and explicit direction, members of a culture and society learn how to react appropriately to a variety of situations in life. From birth, a person acquires an understanding of appropriate display/feeling rules by understanding internal feelings, how others assess an emotional display, and sanctions expressed for a given display (Ashforth & Humphrey, 1993; Eckman 1973/2006; Hochschild, 1983/2012).

For example, when a small child begins school, parents and teachers expect the child to be excited and interested in learning. Adults expect children to look at the teacher and verbally and/or physically respond to questions and statements. When a child is looking around the classroom, staring out the window, or playing with items in his or her desk, the teacher will correct the child for not paying attention. If this behavior continues, the teacher may contact the child's parents who may also reprimand the child for not showing interest in learning. These reprimands teach the child to look at a speaker, respond in some manner, and not play with items

that may appear distracting. Though the child applies these techniques to appear interested, he or she may be very bored and not actually focusing on the lesson. A child may carry these behaviors into adulthood and use them to feign interest during presentations and/or meetings. As people learn to express interest when bored, they also learn other emotional displays such as crying and sadness at the death of a family member. If this does not occur, a person may have his or her emotional display examined by others causing them to reprimand or judge the person's reaction.

The display rules developed by societies and cultures serve as a foundation for the formation of emotional expectations in the workplace (Hochschild, 1983/2012). This link is observable in the expectation that a waiter be cheery while funeral directors appear subdued. Companies have taken societal and cultural feeling rules and adapted them into employment guidelines taught during training and evaluated annually.

Hochschild (1983/2012) identified feeling rules in her research to explain the external controls on an employee's emotional presentation. However, recent research has returned to Eckman's (1973/2006) descriptor of identifying external controls on emotions as display rules instead of feeling rules (Ashforth & Humphrey, 1993; Cho, Rutherford, & Park, 2013; Diefendorff, Croyle, & Gosserand, 2005; Grandey, 2000). Display rules refer to expectations placed upon one's emotional behavior, whereas feeling rules focus on a person's internal state (Ashforth & Humphrey, 1993). Societal and cultural norms guide display rules and can vary by location and employment position (Ashforth & Humphrey, 1993). Display rules more accurately define the controls established by employers because they focus on the emotions an employer wants to observe from a worker, while feeling rules focus on an employee's internal emotions. An employee can internally disregard the employer's emotional guidelines without it being visible by using the emotional display rules as a means to determine the appropriate type of acting

or natural expression to adhere to the organization's expectations (Diefendorff & Gosserand, 2003; Grandey, 2000).

2.2.2 Surface Acting

Emotional display rules establish the expectations for the workplace, and how an employee complies with them determines if a worker maintains his or her job. As stated in the previous section, an employer looks for what emotions an employee exhibits externally not what he or she is actually feeling. In the introduction, a hotel employee who is experiencing personal difficulties is smiling and pleasant with a difficult customer. As the employee is not genuinely feeling the expressed emotions, it is probable that she is using one of the acting methods identified by Hochschild (1983/2012) known as surface acting.

Surface acting is the presentation of emotions that differ from what a person is internally feeling (Hochschild, 1983/2012). When applying surface acting, a person's exhibited emotion contradicts with his or her felt emotion. An employee may appear cheery and smile when in reality he or she is sad, angry, or frustrated. Known as "faking in bad faith" (Rafaeli & Sutton, 1987, p.32), this form of acting forces an employee to pretend during an interaction. Though it is an effective emotional labor strategy, a possible consequence of faking an emotion during an exchange with customers, patients, or students is that the emotional display may appear inauthentic or disingenuous (Brotheridge & Lee, 2002; Groth, Hennig-Thurau, & Wang, 2013). Surface acting provides an employee with a means to meet an organization's expectations while internally feeling different.

2.2.3 Deep Acting

While there is a disconnection between presented and felt emotions when applying surface acting, deep acting is a method of acting that aligns felt and displayed emotions. Deep acting occurs when a person either encourages a feeling, uses his or her imagination, applies a previous experience, reassesses or changes his or her perspective of a situation to invoke, or modifies his or her feelings to truly feel an emotion that is appropriate to the display rules of a given environment (Grandey, 2000; Hochschild, 1983/2012; Kruml & Geddes, 2000). Hochschild's (1983/2012) concept of deep acting derived from the concept of Method Acting created by Stanislavski in the mid-twentieth century (Hochschild, 1983/2012). However, Grandey (2000) employed emotional regulation theory to add reassessment and modification to the understanding of deep acting.

Through a cognitive change, a person may actually feel a contrived emotion through altering his or her thinking or by reassessing a situation (Grandey, 2000). Rafaeli and Sutton (1987) saw this method also as a way of faking an emotion but considered it "faking in good faith" (p.32) because people believed this was part of their work. Customers perceive interactions as more genuine and authentic when the emotional expression involves deep acting (Groth et al., 2013). An employee with a challenging guest may exhibit a pleasant demeanor without internally experiencing the same feeling. While the employee may do this by simply faking an emotion, he or she may have also work to develop or modify his or her feelings. By remembering a time when the employee felt the same as the customer, imagining the man was a relative he or she cares about, or reevaluating an interaction, the employee would be able to summon up the friendly emotions to make the guest feel better. Deep acting offers employees a means of adhering to workplace display rules while trying to help the employee to connect and/or modify internal feelings to align with external expressions.

2.2.4 Natural/Genuine Expression

Hochschild's (1983/2012) original research focused on the application of surface and deep acting for employees to conform to organizational expectations. However, later research built upon Hochschild's findings and introduced a third method of emotional expression to meet the expectations of the workplace. It is likely that an employee will not always feel the positive, negative, or neutral feelings their work or profession expects, but it is possible. When a person expresses his or her truest feelings, he or she applies natural or genuine emotional expression.

Natural or genuine expression involves the manifestation of emotions without acting or prompting that are in alignment with the expected display rules of an organization (Ashforth & Humphrey, 1993; Morris & Feldman, 1996; Rafaeli & Sutton, 1987). Although it was not presented as part of the initial theory, natural/genuine expression has grown into a key concept in emotional labor research over the past decade and is now accepted as a third method of complying with workplace display rules. While one may naturally feel the emotions that are required, some effort still needs to transpire to present emotions that are appropriate and in line with organizational expectations (Glomb & Tews, 2004; Morris & Feldman, 1996). Diefendorff et al. (2005) conducted a study that found that "[Surface Acting] and [Deep Acting] may be the exception rather than the rule and that displaying naturally felt emotions play a more prominent role in emotional expression at work than past emotional labor research would suggest" (p. 348). The addition of natural/genuine expression of emotion to emotional labor theory offers the possibility of an employer's expectations aligning with a worker's feelings, not opposing them.

2.3 RESEARCH IN VARIOUS SERVICE INDUSTRIES

2.3.1 Overview of Research

As shown, emotional labor theory focuses on work and professions that reside in the service industry. A limited perspective can exist when considering the jobs that comprise service professions. To help properly identify service occupations that involve emotional labor, Hochschild (1983/2012) identified three criteria. A service profession that involves emotional labor will entail: (a) physical or verbal interactions with the public, (b) creation of an emotion(s) in another person, (c) established expectations and supervision of employee emotions (Hochschild, 1983/2012, p. 147). Applying Hochschild's criteria broadens the number of occupations that can involve emotional labor.

The initial research of emotional labor began with flight attendants and bill collectors (Hochschild, 1983/2012). Hochschild (1983/2012) spent multiple years observing and interviewing flight attendants who worked for Delta Airlines. She garnered insight into the emotional expectations that Delta Airlines put upon the flight attendants to "smile like [they] really mean it" (Hochschild, 1983/2012, p. ix) while dealing with difficult and, at times, aggressive passengers. Hochschild learned during this time how the flight attendants coped through surface and deep acting. During this study, Hochschild also conducted an abbreviated side study on bill collectors. While she was researching the expectation of positive interactions in the airline industry, her research of the bill collectors provided a different perspective of emotional expectations. Hochschild's research of the bill collection industry showed employers also demanded negative and intimidating emotional expressions to achieve the purpose of the profession. Flight attendants make people feel comfortable while bill collectors scare people into

paying. Hochschild's initial research provided insight into a variety of careers and emotional expectations of service workers.

Following Hochschild's (1983/2012) publication, emotional labor emerged as a new field of research and many began exploring this theory. The most significant amount of research has occurred with workers identified as frontline employees or those employees who have the first interactions with a customer (Magnini & Uysal, 2011, para. 1). These positions have received attention because "frontline or interactive service jobs [focus] on the social relations of work and the balance of power and control in these low level jobs" (Wharton, 2009, p. 150). These positions align perfectly with the criteria set by Hochschild unlike other professions such as those in the caring field. Frontline positions also allow for easily observable application of the display rules in a workplace allowing for investigation into the usage of surface and deep acting and natural/genuine expression.

Most studies of frontline positions occur in the retail and hospitality industries. Retail and hospitality work has received comprehensive focus because "emotional display has been recognized as an important aspect of maintaining loyal customers" (Kim et al., 2012, p. 1029). In the employee/customer interaction, the emotional display of the employee "plays an important role in influencing the customer's judgment of a service" (Groth et al., 2013, p. 129). Customer loyalty is essential for any business to be sustainable and profitable. Research in this area offers companies knowledge and understanding of how to train and support the employees who have the greatest interaction with customers.

The perception of the service industry is often limited to frontline employees, but research has expanded from this perspective to include additional interactive professions such as doctors, lawyers, and caring professions (e.g., teachers and social workers) (Grandey et al., 2013;

Wharton, 2009). When compared with Hochschild's (1983/2012) service work criteria, these professions align with each criterion. First, each profession interacts with the public through activities such as appointments or instruction. When working with the public, they try to create an emotion in another person. For example, a lawyer may try to create a feeling of anger in a client who has been mistreated, a teacher encourages enthusiasm for learning in students, or a doctor tries to help a patient feel calm when delivering a difficult diagnosis. Finally, each profession must adhere to expectations when displaying emotions. A lawyer may be in contempt if he or she displays inappropriate emotions in a courtroom or a social worker could receive a reprimand if he or she treats families negatively when working with them. The fact that these professions align with Hochschild's service work criteria supports the need for researching emotional labor in these fields. However, the research in these areas is limited and tends to focus on the socialization process and strategies to address the interactions of the workers (Wharton, 2009). Research topics within these professions can include how professionals learn display rules, application of emotional labor with clients and co-workers, and the demands of care giving (Wharton, 2009). The work accomplished in these interactive professions may look different from frontline interactions, but they all align with Hochschild's service work criteria revealing the existence of emotional labor and its implications in these positions.

2.3.1.1 Emotional Labor Theory and Caring Professions

As shown above, the interactive professions, including caring professions, meet the criteria established by Hochschild (1983/2012) and are considered service-based jobs (Wharton, 2009). However, some researchers question the applicability of emotional labor in caring professions. Caring professions include, but are not limited to "childcare, eldercare, nursing, social work, and teaching" (Erickson & Stacey, 2013, p. 178). The work accomplished in these

professions has generated question as to if the professions adhere to Hochschild's criteria for service professions. Through the literature review, this researcher did not identify any sources questioning if caring professions adhere to Hochschild's first criterion, which requires the interaction between employees and the public. However, questions exist in relation to caring professions and the second and third criteria. In addition, one researcher recommends the addition of a fourth criterion to ensure service professions provide a viable commodity (Bolton, 2005).

Hochschild's (1983/2012) second criterion expects an emotional labor service profession will elicit feelings in another person. In caring professions, different interactions and power structures exist than those between a frontline worker and customer (Erickson & Stacey, 2013), which affects the ability of a worker to initiate a feeling in another person. This imbalance is evident in the dependence children have on a teacher to move from ignorance to knowledge (Price, 2001, p. 168) or in a patient who relies on a healthcare worker for physical and emotional care (Erickson & Stacey, 2013, p. 186). In these structures, researchers argue that the worker is not trying to cause the student or patient to experience an emotional change but must either support or work with the emotions the person is experiencing to accomplish the purpose of his or her position (Price, 2001). By proposing that caring professions do not elicit emotions as Hochschild's criterion establishes but instead work with a person's emotions, these researchers identify a problem in the alignment between caring work and the second criterion.

In addition to not meeting the second criterion for an emotional labor service profession, Hochschild's (1983/2012) third criterion is also in question in regards to caring professions. The third criterion requires the establishment of expectations and supervision. Researchers argue that supervision of emotional expressions does not exist in caring professions as appropriate emotional

expressions are either inherent in the profession and/or are at the employee's discretion because of the skilled nature of the work (Bolton, 2005; Oplatka, 2007).

In her research, Bolton (2005) connects the lack of supervision with the production of a specific product such as customer loyalty or satisfaction as is required of a frontline worker. The expectation that emotional expression is a commodity for a company (Hochschild, 1983/2012), leads Bolton to recommend the creation of a fourth criterion to establish whether a service profession applies emotional labor. The fourth criterion would include the need for a profession to produce a product that results in a profit from the application of emotional labor (Bolton, 2005, p. 51). As caring professions focus more on tending to another person's needs (e.g. learning, health) one may express concern that these professions fail to meet this criterion as their work does not produce a service product like those in the retail or hospitality industries. Though some researchers doubt that caring professions adhere to Hochschild's (1983/2012) criteria, this is just one alternative perspective to existing emotional labor research.

2.3.2 Historical Perspective of Emotional Labor Implications

The imposition of rules on a person can result in negative or positive consequences. In some cases, rules can force a person to act in a manner that conflicts with the person's beliefs or personal identity leading to negative consequences that may cause the person to feel frustrated and/or demoralized. The reverse can also be true. A person may follow rules that he or she sees as appropriate and effective producing positive consequences that may make the person feel accomplished or honorable. The implications of imposed rules can depend on the individual, environment, and method of enactment and enforcement.

The same is true for emotional labor. Emotional labor requires the establishment of emotional display rules that an organization enforces with its employees. The implication of rules to guide and direct employee emotions affects the individual causing outcomes that can ripple through an organization and a profession.

Current research supports the presumption that creating a structure to control a person's emotions would result in negative outcomes for the individual and employer (Brotheridge & Grandey, 2002; Brotheridge & Lee, 2002; Hochschild, 1983/2012; Pugliesi, 1999). However, just as the definition of emotional labor has grown and developed over the last 30 years, so has the understanding of how emotional labor can affect people. Some research has shown there can be positive outcomes when emotional labor is applied (Ashforth & Humphrey, 1993; Cho et al., 2013; Kruml & Geddes, 2000).

2.3.2.1 Negative Implication

In her emotional labor research, Hochschild (1983/2012) discussed the principle of emotional dissonance, which supported the negative repercussions of emotional labor on a worker. Emotional dissonance occurs when a person must feign an emotion he or she does not internally feel. Hochschild explained that:

> Maintaining a difference between feeling and feigning over the long run leads to strain. We try to reduce this strain by pulling the two closer together either by changing what we feel or by changing what we feign. When a job requires an emotional display, it is usually feeling that has to change; and when conditions estrange us from our face, they sometimes estrange us from feeling as well. (p. 90)

The constant dissonance that a person may experience through surface acting, and in some cases deep acting, to adhere to display rules can lead to the negative consequence of separating a person

from his or her emotions causing a disconnect or a feeling of insincerity (Wharton, 1993). The emotional disconnection can affect a person's job satisfaction and stress (Pugliesi, 1999). It can also cause emotional exhaustion and depersonalization (Brotheridge & Lee, 2002). The negative result of emotional labor can lead to disingenuous inactions with customers because employees distance themselves (Brotheridge & Grandey, 2002) and to turnover because employees voluntarily leave positions to avoid these effects (Brotheridge & Lee, 2002).

2.3.2.2 Positive Implications

Though much of the emotional labor research supports negative implications, other research has shown that emotional labor can offer positive consequences for employees. The application of emotional labor may provide positive outcomes when employees are able to empathize with customers (Kruml & Geddes, 2000) and when "employees generally perceive the interaction with customers as empowering and perhaps rewarding" (Cho et al., 2013, p. 2342). This can also happen when employees genuinely identify with the values and norms of their professional role (Ashforth & Humphrey, 1993). These positive outcomes can diminish the negative emotional labor consequences by providing higher job satisfaction and organizational commitment (Cho et al., 2013).

2.3.2.3 Mixed Implications

Though some research clearly identifies negative or positive implications, some research supports findings for both. Research in the field of emotional labor often focuses on the implications of surface and deep acting and their effect on employees. A recurrent finding is that surface acting negatively affects individuals and increases burnout, emotional exhaustion, and

depersonalization, while deep acting can provide positive benefits by minimizing dissonance (Brotheridge & Lee, 2003; Grandey, 2000).

The extant research in this field demonstrates the varied implications of emotional labor theory. Hochschild's (1983/2012) early research focused on the negative, draining effects of using emotions as a commodity. Other studies found emotional labor could offer positive outcomes for employees such as rewarding customer interactions, identification with values and norms of their profession, and higher job satisfaction (Ashforth & Humphrey, 1993; Cho et al., 2013; Kruml & Geddes, 2000). However, the application of emotional labor theory has proven to be more complicated than simply classifying consequences as negative or positive. A growing body of research is showing that the implications of emotional labor can be dependent upon a variety of factors including age and experience in addition to the type of emotional labor strategy the individual applies. The ability to simplify the implications of emotional labor for workers and organizations is a challenge due to the uniqueness of each person and workplace (Wharton, 1993).

2.4 SCOPE OF K-12 EDUCATION EMOTIONAL LABOR LITERATURE

Research on emotional labor in education is a growing field, but currently the amount of existing research is limited. The initial searches for literature were limited to educational databases provided by the University of Pittsburgh and Google Scholar. To ensure the literature collected focused on education, the initial searches connected emotional labor with multiple descriptors (Mertens, 2010). It is important to note that when searching for research on emotional labor, one must utilize two different spellings for the word labor. The spelling of the word, labor,

necessitated the inclusion of the letter "u" to help identify research conducted outside of the United States.

The phrase, emotional labor/labour, required pairing with a variety of secondary search terms. These included teachers, school, paraprofessionals, education, K-12, secretaries, guidance counselors, educators, administrators, principals, and special education. To find a resource concerning emotional labor and principals using Boolean search logic, the search phrase looked like emotional labor AND school AND principal (Mertens, 2010). In addition, a third level of search terms were applied that included burnout, emotional exhaustion, and turnover. These terms aligned with the negative emotional labor consequences identified in the previous section.

Using the resources acquired through the initial keyword searches, a bibliographical search method supported the identification of other sources (Mertens, 2010). The examination of bibliographies in dissertations and journals provided led to additional resources. Repetitive listings by author(s) and/or titles indicated frequently referenced sources in the field. In addition, recurring in-text citations or citations with findings or data connected to the established research questions provided resources. The bibliographical search method supported a focused and constructive means to identify relevant resources.

The keyword and bibliographical search methods provided a significant amount of resources and were not limited by the year of publication. Placing limitations on acquired resources supplied a structure to determine the relevancy of the information (Tsang, 2011). The limitations restricted the review to focus on kindergarten through twelfth grade schools. However, not all countries apply the K-12 structure. Research using alternative schooling configurations was applied when it could be determined that the student population included children ages five to approximately 18.

The second limitation, and the most necessitated, involved the definition and usage of emotional labor theory. Relevant resources applied the definition of emotional labor founded in the seminal works previously identified in Table 1 and the usage of the key terms identified in Table 2. Resources outside of these parameters were not included in the assessment of emotional labor research or the implications of emotional labor on K-12 workplaces.

2.5 EMOTIONAL LABOR RESEARCH IN K-12 WORKPLACES

In order to answer the second research question established for this literature, how the theory of emotional labor has been studied in K-12 schools, the literature review focused on developing an understanding of where, who, what, and how this field is being explored in K-12 education. Review of the literature by geographical location identified countries where emotional labor research is occurring. Examination of the literature by employee group revealed that the research is extremely limited and focused on teachers and administrators whom society tends to consider the most important employees in the K-12 workplace. A review of the literature identified prevalent themes in the research across countries and within employee groups, as displayed in Appendix A in Table 12. In addition, a review of the literature identified the research methods applied to explore emotional labor in K-12 education.

2.5.1 Research Locations

Throughout the world, researchers have conducted emotional labor research in school workplaces. A review of the literature found emotional labor research in education clustered in the continents

of North America, Europe, Asia, and Australia. None of the research identified studies conducted in either Africa or South America.

The inclusion of geographical locations as part of the literature review can provide context to help understand the implications of current practices, legislation, and changes in education across the globe on emotional labor research. For example, the locations where emotional labor research appears to be developing may be linked to an increase in the marketization of education. Table 3 identifies emotional labor research in areas such as the United States, the United Kingdom, China, and Australia. Research in educational marketization appears to also show growth in these countries (Cucchiara, Gold, & Simon, 2011; Gorur, 2013; Hartley, 2008; Lubienski, 2013; Mok, Wong, & Zhang, 2009). One may connect the need to guide employee interactions with stakeholders with the need to compete with other educational choices. Understanding where emotional labor research is occurring may provide insight into educational trends just as the lack of emotional labor research may raise questions as to why the research is not occurring.

Table 3 provides a summary of the countries where researchers conducted studies and their themes. Table 3 is alphabetical by country to help identify where research occurred and areas where there was no existing research.

Table 3. *Emotional Labor Research in Education by Country and Research Theme*

Country	Author	Year	Theme(s)
Australia	O'Conner, K. E.	2008	Emotional labor and educational reform
Australia	Sachs, J. Blackmore, J.	1998	Emotional Labor and educational reform; Emotional display rules in education
Belgium	Naring, G. Vlerick, P. Van de Van, B.	2012	Negative consequences of emotional labor on teachers
Canada	Hargreaves, A.	2000	Emotional acting in teacher/student relationships
Canada	Hargreaves, A.	2001	Emotional acting in teacher/stakeholder relationships
Canada	Hargreaves, A.	2005	Emotional acting in teacher/student relationships; Positive effects of emotional labor
China	Cheung, F. So-kum Tang, C. Tang, S.	2011	Negative consequences of emotional labor on teachers
China	Yin, H. Lee, J.C.	2012	Emotional display rules in education
China	Yin, H., Lee, J. C., Zhang, Z., Jin, Y.	2013	Effects of emotional labor on job satisfaction

Table 3 (continued)

England	Crawford, M.	2007	Effects of emotional labor on leadership
England	Price, H.	2001	Applicability of emotional labor emotional labor in education
Germany	Philipp, A. Schupbach, H.	2010	Negative/positive consequences of emotional labor on teachers
Israel	Oplatka, I.	2007	Applicability of emotional labor in education
Netherlands	Naring, G. Briet, M. Brouwers, A.	2006	Negative consequences of emotional labor on teachers
Norway	Jakhelln, R.	2011	Negative consequences of emotional labor on teachers
Romania	Truta, C.	2012	Usage and mitigation of emotional labor in education work
Turkey	Cukur, C.S.	2009	Methods to research emotional labor in education
United Kingdom	Hartley, D.	1999	Emotional labor and education reform; Emotional display rules in education
United Kingdom	Hebson, G. Earnshaw, J. Marchington, L.	2007	Usage of emotional labor to compensate for reforms; Emotional display rules in education

Table 3 (continued)

United Kingdom	Kinman, G. Wray, S. Strange, C.	2011	Negative consequences of emotional labor on teachers
United Kingdom	Mackenzie, S.	2012	Negative/positive consequences of emotional labor on teachers
United States	Brown, E. L. Valenti, M. W. Kerr, M.	2015	Application of emotional labor strategies by special education teachers
United States	Brown, E.L.	2011	Emotional display rules in education; Application of emotional labor strategies by teachers
United States	Fein, A. H. Isaacson, N. S.	2009	Usage of emotional labor in crises by leaders
United States	Isenbarger, L. Zembylas, M.	2006	Negative/positive effects of emotional labor; Emotion display rules in education
United States	Kerr, M. Brown, E. L.	2015	Application of emotional labor strategies by special education teachers
United States	Richardson, B. K. Alexander, A. Castleberry, T.	2008	Negative consequences of emotional labor on teachers
United States	Winograd, K.	2003	Emotional display rules in education
United States	Zembylas, M.	2004	Negative/positive effects of emotional labor

Table 3 (continued)

United States	Zembylas, M.	2005	Emotional display rules in education; Negative/positive effects of emotional labor
Unites States	Brown, E.L. Horner, C.G. Kerr, M. Scanlon, C. L.	2014	Emotional labor and professional identity

2.5.1.1 Countries with Extensive Educational Emotional Labor Research

Within the continents where emotional labor research occurred, the countries with the greatest concentration of research were the United Kingdom and the United States as shown in Table 3. The research was not centralized in a specific part of either country but transpired in a variety of locations. In the United Kingdom, the majority of the research occurred in England (Crawford, 2007; Hebson et al., 2007; Mackenzie, 2012; Price, 2001), but studies were completed in other regions and countrywide. One research study did not identify a specific country within the multiple countries that comprise the United Kingdom stating only the "study investigated…a sample of UK teachers" (Kinman et al., 2011, p. 846). Another study, (Hartley, 1999), analyzed material collected from multiple countries including England, Scotland, and Wales. In the United States, researchers conducted studies in states such as Texas, Michigan, Colorado, and Oregon. Except for the Fein and Isaacson (2009) study, which included a variety of schools throughout the country because of their focus on administrators who experienced crises, other studies were limited to a specific school, district, region, or area within a state (Brown, 2011; Brown, Horner,

Kerr, & Scanlon, 2014; Brown, Valenti, & Kerr, 2015; Isenbarger & Zembylas, 2006; Kerr & Brown, 2015; Richardson et al., 2008; Winograd, 2003; Zembylas, 2004, 2005).

The studies conducted in the United Kingdom and United States shared three themes throughout the literature. The most researched theme involved the positive and negative effects of emotional labor on both teachers and administrators (Isenbarger & Zembylas, 2006; Kinman et al., 2011; Mackenzie, 2011; Richardson et al., 2008; Zembylas, 2004, 2005). Some of these studies focused only on negative effects while others identified the existence of both positive and negative effects in the application of emotional labor. Studies such as those by Kinman et al. (2011) and Richardson et al. (2008) on emotional labor resulted in negative implications on employees. The Kinman et al. study found that teachers reporting increased emotional labor were likely to experience emotional exhaustion, decreased job satisfaction, and depersonalization of their students. The Richardson et al. study connected emotional exhaustion and dissonance to increased rates of turnover in teachers. The findings in these studies align with the original research by Hochschild (1983/2012) that identified the negative implications of emotional labor when natural feelings and emotional display rules do not correlate.

Other researchers identified negative implications while recognizing the positive effects at the same time. Zembylas' (2004, 2005) independent research and his research with Isenbarger (2006) showed how negative effects, such as poor peer interactions or difficult emotions like frustration, guilt, or disappointment, are sometimes overcome with the positive effects of emotional labor. The positive effects include the feeling of achievement from working with students or by viewing the negative feelings as part of caring for students (Isenbarger & Zembylas, 2006; Zembylas 2004, 2005). Mackenzie (2012) identified similar research findings. Special education teachers in this study experienced challenging emotions such as anger and

frustration stemming from peer interactions or difficulties with student disabilities. However, the special education teachers also expressed love and care for students and rewards from the experience of teaching. As in Zembylas' (2004, 2005) research, Mackenzie (2012) found that the positive consequences outweighed the challenges of the position.

The second theme in the research from these countries focuses on emotional display rules in education. The research in education identifies a lack of definitive emotional display rules unlike other professions (Brown, 2011; Hartley, 1999; Hebson et al., 2007; Isenbarger & Zembylas, 2006; Winograd, 2003; Zembylas, 2005). Some of the researchers identify historical and cultural perspectives as the foundation for implied emotional rules (Winograd, 2003; Zembylas, 2005). Using these perspectives and personal insight from a qualitative study, Winograd (2003) went as far as developing five emotional display rules for use in education. In addition to history, culture, and researcher created rules, other researchers identified caring and/or professionalism as another form of implied emotional display rules (Brown 2011; Isenbarger & Zembylas, 2006). Hartley (1999) and Hebson et al. (2007) explored the usage of national performance standards as a means to identify emotional display rules. Applying standards issued in 1998 by the Scottish Office, Hartley (1999) explored the usage of standards as "one of the important 'performance criteria' which would be applied to head teachers…[for] the effectiveness of their emotional performances" (p. 319). While Hebson et al. explored national capability procedures that required educators to apply emotional labor, in particular surface acting, to display neutral feelings towards the students in order to receive approval from administrators during evaluations. These researchers agree established emotional display rules are lacking in education and all are working to offer foundations and structures to try to solidify the implied rules.

Through some of the researchers attempt to use national standards from the United Kingdom as a means to structure implied emotional display rules, the establishment of the standards connects with the final research theme. Hartley (1999) and Hebson et al. (2007) explored the implications of educational reform on emotional labor. Through marketization and the implementation of national performance standards, educators are required to apply emotional labor to adhere to changes placed upon them to perform appropriately in the field of education. Applying strategies such as surface or deep acting can help an educator to exhibit the emotions prescribed in standards or capability procedures to negate some of the effects caused by reform demands (Hebson et al., 2007).

2.5.1.2 Countries with Minimal Educational Emotional Labor Research

In contrast to the United Kingdom and United States, researchers in Canada, China, and Australia have the lowest concentration of studies in the field of emotional labor (Cheung, So-kum Tang, & Tang, 2011; Hargreaves, 2000, 2001, 2005; O'Conner, 2008; Sachs & Blackmore, 1998; Tsang, 2014; Yin, Lee, Zhang, & Jin, 2013; Yin & Lee, 2012). The studies in Canada were all located within the province of Ontario (Hargreaves, 2000, 2001, 2005). In China, the research focused on schools in mainland China in the areas of Beijing and Hangzhou (Cheung et al., 2011; Yin, et al., 2013; Yin & Lee, 2012). In Australia, research occurred in New South Wales and Queensland (O'Conner, 2008; Sachs & Blackmore, 1998).

The literature from Canada, China, and Australia shared two research themes although the majority of the research topics were individual and localized. The two shared themes across the countries were consistent with the themes identified in the United Kingdom and the United States: investigations into positive and negative effects of emotional labor (Cheung et al., 2011; Hargreaves, 2005; Yin et al., 2013) and emotional display rules in education (Sachs &

Blackmore, 1998; Yin & Lee, 2012). In the research relating to the positive and negative effects of emotional labor in education, Hargreaves' (2005) research indicated, "building and maintaining such excitement and enjoyment was at the heart of the emotional labor of teaching" (p. 292), identifying the positive effect of emotional labor in teaching. However, the studies conducted by Cheung et al. (2011) and Yin et al. (2013) focused on the negative aspects of emotional labor including burnout and job satisfaction. Though focused on the negative aspects, these studies explored how areas such as psychological capital (Cheung et al., 2011) and emotional intelligence (Yin et al., 2013) can offer methods to help support the effects of emotional labor and minimize negative implications.

The second theme acknowledged the lack of specific emotional display rules within education. The researchers sought to apply professional standards of leadership for administrators (Sachs & Blackmore, 1998) or researcher-created emotional display rules based on insight acquired through qualitative study (Yin & Lee, 2012) to address the need for established emotional display rules. The findings from Canada, China and Australia mirror the findings of their British and American counterparts.

While the shared themes mimic other research findings, a unique quality of the studies conducted in Canada, China, and Australia are the location specific research themes that emerged. Canadian research focused on the effects of emotional acting on the teacher and stakeholder relationship in regards to curriculum, pedagogy, professional closeness, and interactions (Hargreaves, 2000, 2001, 2005). The majority of the Chinese research focused on the positive and negative effects of emotional labor (Cheung et al., 2011; Yin et al., 2013). The Australian research explored the links between emotional labor and educational reform acknowledging the

marketization of education and application of accountability reforms that attempt to regulate emotional expressions (O'Conner, 2008; Sachs & Blackmore, 1998).

Exploration of the shared and individual research themes identified limitations on the research conducted in Canada and China. The same researchers conducted the majority of studies in both countries. In Canada, Hargreaves (2000, 2001, 2005) completed all of the referenced studies, and in China Yin and Chin Kin-Lee (2012) were the only researchers in the studies published or they participated in group research (Yin et al., 2013).

2.5.1.3 Individual Countries Conducting Emotional Labor Research

Outside of the countries where multiple research studies were conducted, a significant amount of research on emotional labor occurred in Turkey, Norway, the Netherlands, Belgium, Israel, Germany, and Romania (Cukur, 2009; Jakhelln, 2011; Naring, Briet, & Brouwers, 2006; Naring, Vlerick, & Van de Van, 2012; Oplatka, 2007; Philipp & Schupbach, 2010; Truta, 2012). Among these countries, only one consistent theme seemed to align with all of the previously discussed research. Researchers in these countries explored the positive and negative consequences of emotional labor in education (Jakhelln, 2011; Naring et al., 2006; Naring et al., 2012; Philipp & Schupbach, 2010). These studies focused on burnout, emotional exhaustion, and depersonalization. Two of the studies supported Hochschild's (1983/2012) conclusion that surface acting caused burnout and emotional exhaustion (Naring et al., 2006; Naring et al., 2012). However, one study contradicted this conclusion and did not find surface acting to have long-term negative effects (Philipp & Schupbach, 2010). This finding is questionable as the study incurred a low survey return, which may have influenced the findings. Outside of the shared theme, individual research topics also appeared. One study explored whether emotional labor in education was applicable as the lack of supervision and formal discipline for failure to express

emotion removes education from a service profession involving emotional labor because the profession does not align with one of Hochschild's (1983/2012) criteria (Oplatka, 2007). Another study piloted an emotional labor scale for teachers (Cukur, 2009).

Reviewing the geographical locations of emotional labor research in education provides an understanding of where the research is concentrated and what areas of emotional labor are receiving the most attention. This allows one to identify research topics that are receiving extensive consideration and other areas that are deficient, which could help to develop future research topics on emotional labor.

2.5.2 Employee Groups

Just as geographic location can provide information about emotional labor research in education, so can the employee groups who are the research participants. For a K-12 organization to function, multiple employee groups are needed such as administrators, teachers, librarians, guidance counselors, nurses, secretaries, paraprofessionals, and custodians (Deal & Peterson, 2009). However, the extant emotional labor research conducted on K-12 schools is extremely limited to the study of teachers and administrators. Table 4 identifies the school employee groups utilized as participants in emotional labor research and research themes that emerged among the groups.

Table 4. *Emotional Labor Research in Education by Employee Group and Research Themes*

Employee Group	Author	Year	Theme(s)
Administrators	Hartley, D.	1999	Emotional labor and education reform; Emotional display rules in education
Administrators	Crawford, M.	2007	Emotional labor effects on leadership
Administrators (Principals; Superintendents)	Fein, A. H. Isaacson, N. S.	2009	Usage of emotional labor in crises by leaders
Administrators (female)	Sachs, J. Blackmore, J.	1998	Emotional labor and educational reform; Emotional display rules in education
Elementary Science Teachers	Zembylas, M.	2004	Negative/positive effects of emotional labor
Elementary and Secondary Teachers	Cheung, F. So-kum Tang, C. Tang, S.	2011	Negative consequences of emotional labor on teachers
Elementary and Secondary Teachers	Brown, E. L. Horner, C.G. Kerr, M. Scanlon, C.L.	2014	Emotional Labor and professional identity
Elementary and Secondary Teachers	Hargreaves, A.	2000	Emotional acting in teacher/student relationships
Elementary and Secondary Teachers	Hargreaves, A.	2001	Emotional acting in teacher/stakeholder relationships

Table 4 (continued)

Elementary and Secondary Teachers	Oplatka, I.	2007	Applicability of emotional labor in education
Elementary and Secondary Teachers	Philipp, A. Schupbach, H.	2010	Negative/positive effects of emotional labor
Elementary and Secondary Teachers	Yin, H., Lee, J.C., Zhang, Z., Jin, Y.	2013	Effects of emotional labor on job satisfaction
Elementary Teacher	Isenbarger, L. Zembylas, M.	2006	Negative/positive effects of emotional labor; Emotion display rules in education
Elementary Teachers	Price, H.	2001	Teacher/student relationship; Applicability of emotional labor in education
Elementary Teachers	Winograd, K.	2003	Emotional display rules in education
Elementary Teachers	Zembylas, M.	2005	Emotional display rules in education; Negative/positive effects of emotional labor
Math Teachers	Naring, G. Briet, M. Brouwers, A.	2006	Negative consequences of emotional labor on teachers
Middle School Teachers	Hargreaves, A.	2005	Emotional acting teacher/student relationships; Positive effects of emotional labor

Table 4 (continued)

School Psychologists	Truta, C.	2012	Usage and mitigation of emotional labor in education work
Secondary Teachers	Cukur, C. S.	2009	Methods to research emotional labor in education
Secondary Teachers	Jakhelln, R.	2011	Negative consequences of emotional labor on teachers
Secondary Teachers	Kinman, G. Wray, S. Strange, C.	2011	Negative consequences of emotional labor on teachers
Secondary Teachers	Naring, G. Vlerick, P. Van de Van, B.	2012	Negative consequences of emotional labor on teachers
Secondary Teachers	O'Conner, K. E.	2008	Emotional labor and educational reform
Secondary Teachers	Richardson, B. K. Alexander, A. Castleberry, T.	2008	Negative consequences of emotional labor on teachers
Secondary Teachers	Yin, H. Lee, J.	2012	Emotional display rules in education
Special Education Teachers and Classroom Behavioral Staff	Brown, E. L. Valenti, M. W. Kerr, M.	2015	Application of emotional labor strategies by special education teachers
Special Education Teachers	Kerr, M. Brown, E. L.	2015	Application of emotional labor strategies by special education teachers

Table 4 (continued)

Special Education Teachers and Coordinators	Mackenzie, S.	2012	Negative/positive effects of emotional labor
Teachers	Brown, E.L.	2011	Emotional display rules in education; Application of emotional labor strategies by teachers
Teachers	Hebson, G. Earnshaw, J. Marchington, L.	2007	Usage of emotional labor to compensate for reforms; Emotional display rules in education
Teachers	Tsang, K. K.	2011	Applicability of emotional labor in education research
Teachers	Tsang, K. K.	2014	Methods to research emotional labor in education

As shown in Table 4, the overwhelming majority of emotional labor research focused on teachers. The majority of resources identified the participant group either as elementary and secondary teachers generalizing the certification area and combining the two teacher groups or as teachers without a specific content area or certification (Brown, 2011; Brown et al., 2014; Chang, 2009; Cheung et al., 2011; Hargreaves, 2000, 2001, 2005; Hebson et al., 2007; Naring et al., 2012; Oplatka, 2007; Philipp & Schupbach, 2010; Tsang, 2011, 2014; Yin & Chi-Kin Lee, 2012).

The minority of studies classified the participant groups using a specific certification and/or content area. In six studies, only secondary teachers participated in the study (Cukur, 2009; Kinman et al., 2011; Jakhelln, 2011; Naring et al., 2012; O'Conner, 2008; Richardson et al., 200; Yin & Lee, 2012). Four studies focused solely on elementary teachers (Isenbarger &

Zembylas, 2006; Price, 200; Winograd, 2003; Zembylas, 2005). Researchers studied specific content area teachers in five studies. The content areas were special education (Brown et al., 2015, Kerr & Brown, 2015; Mackenzie, 2011), math (Naring et al., 2006), and elementary science (Zembylas, 2004). Among the studies with teacher participants, the positive and negative effects of emotional labor emerged as the correlating study focus.

The second most studied group, though to a significantly smaller degree, was school administrators (Crawford, 2007; Fein & Isaacson, 2009; Hartley, 1999; Sachs & Blackmore, 1998). The position of administrator can encompass a wide array of roles. In the reviewed literature, administrator refers to principals, head teachers, and superintendents. While the positive and negative effects of emotional labor have overwhelmingly occurred as a research subject throughout the review, it is not a research focus for administrator participant groups. The research involving administrators focused on four topics. The first topic of research was the implications of emotional labor in leadership (Crawford, 2007). The findings from interviews conducted by Crawford (2007) found the applications of surface and deep acting to support interactions with students and to help the principal act as a leader. The only concern with Crawford's work is that she applies emotional labor theory and acting strategies in her research but connects them with emotional regulation theory instead of emotional labor. The second topic involves administrators' use of emotional labor when dealing with a crisis. Fein and Isaacson (2009) explain how administrators who were involved in extreme crises applied emotional labor strategies to provide lessons for administrators in similar situations. The third and fourth topics involve Hartley's (1999) and Sachs' and Blackmore's (1998) identification of the emotional labor applied by administrators to address the effects and implications of educational reform. These two studies also explore how display rules lack specificity, which forces administrators to depend

on national standards or professional norms to identify expectations for emotional expression. The research of administrators covered a wide array of study foci unlike studies with teachers, which seemed to have some consistency across study purposes.

Outside of teachers and administrators, only one other investigation study identified an employee group within school settings. The separate participant group was school psychologists. This study occurred in Romania and attempted to identify how emotional labor is applied and how the effects of emotional labor can be mitigated (Truta, 2012). Truta (2012) found that school psychologists either simulate or suppress positive and negative emotions on a continuum between surface acting and natural expression (p. 799). In addition, she found that natural expression of emotions depended upon a participants' length of time in the profession, application of surface acting to hide negative emotions was dependent upon age, and application of deep acting was affected by experience and age (Truta, 2012, p.800).

The literature shows that other employee groups necessary in the school operations are yet to be included as participants in emotional labor research. Research on school paraprofessionals, secretaries, nurses, cafeteria workers, and custodians either does not currently exist or is unpublished in English.

2.5.3 Methodologies Applied in Educational Emotional Labor Research

Geographic location and participants are important identifiers for research; the methodology of the research is also important. Understanding the research methodology applied in studies used for this literature review indicates the breadth and depth of participant groups and the methods used for data collection. Table 5 identifies the methods of research used in emotional labor research in education cited in this literature review.

Table 5. *Emotional Labor Research in Education by Research Method*

Research Method	Author	Year	Research Instrument
Mixed Methods	Brown, E. L.	2011	Survey; Open-ended Questions
Mixed Methods	Brown, E. L. Horner, C. G. Kerr, M. Scanlon, C. L.	2014	Survey; Open-ended Questions
Mixed Methods	Brown, E. L. Valenti, M. W. Kerr, M.	2015	Survey; Semi-Structured Interviews
Qualitative	Tsang, K. K.	2011	Content Analysis
Qualitative	Tsang, K. K.	2014	Content Analysis
Qualitative	Chang, M.	2009	Content Analysis
Qualitative	Crawford, M.	2007	Interview; Case Study; Observation
Qualitative	Fein, A. H. Isaacson, N. S.	2009	Interview
Qualitative	Hargreaves, A.	2000	Interview
Qualitative	Hargreaves, A.	2001	Interviews
Qualitative	Hargreaves, A.	2005	Interview
Qualitative	Hartley, D.	1999	Content Analysis
Qualitative	Hebson, G. Earnshaw, J. Marchington, L.	2007	Interviews

Table 5 (continued)

Qualitative	Isenbarger, L. Zembylas, M.	2006	Action Research; Journaling; Document Analysis
Qualitative	Jakhelln, R.	2011	Case Study
Qualitative	Kerr, M. Brown, E. L.	2015	Interviews
Qualitative	Mackenzie, S.	2012	Focus Group
Qualitative	O'Conner, K. E.	2008	Interview
Qualitative	Oplatka, I.	2007	Interview
Qualitative	Price, H.	2001	Observation
Qualitative	Sachs, J. Blackmore, J.	1998	Interview
Qualitative	Winograd, K.	2003	Self-study; Journaling
Qualitative	Yin, H. Lee, J. C.	2012	Interviews; Document Analysis
Qualitative	Zembylas, M.	2004	Case Study
Qualitative	Zembylas, M.	2005	Case Study
Quantitative	Cheung, F. So-kum Tang, C. Tang, S.	2011	Survey
Quantitative	Cukur, C.S.	2009	Survey

Table 5 (continued)

Quantitative	Kinman, G. Wray, S. Strange, C.	2011	Survey
Quantitative	Naring, G. Briet, M. Brouwers, A.	2006	Survey
Quantitative	Naring, G. Vlerick, P. Van de Van, B.	2012	Survey
Quantitative	Philipp, A. Schupbach, H.	2010	Survey
Quantitative	Richardson, B. K. Alexander, A. Castleberry, T.	2008	Survey
Quantitative	Truta, C.	2012	Survey
Quantitative	Yin, H., Lee, J. C. Zhang, Z. Jin, Y.	2013	Survey

As shown in Table 5, qualitative research is the most commonly used research method to study emotional labor in education. In the research, qualitative methods, such as interviews, case studies, and observations offered researchers data collection methods that allowed for thorough explorations of information provided by participants (Glesne, 2011). As one researcher noted,

qualitative methods provided more opportunities to capture a participant's emotions for research than quantitative responses (Zembylas, 2005). In-depth interviews, case study, and observations provided researchers with the opportunity to understand how participants "feel, describe, contain, and manage their own emotions" (Crawford, 2007, p. 526), to explore the experience of capability and the emotional response (Hebson et al., 2007), and to discern how teachers care about students and its effect on decision-making (O'Conner, 2008). Much of the research transpired in one-on-one situations, but some researchers gathered data in a focus group, which allowed participants to engage with each other and verbally express experiences (Mackenzie, 2011). Qualitative methods provided researchers with a means to delve into deeper conversations and understand how participants experienced emotion and their perspective of the reasons, issues, and meanings behind the emotional expressions used, which supported deeper meaning about emotional labor and its role in education (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005).

Four of the resources applied the qualitative method of content analysis as means for exploring the existing research on emotional labor in education (Chang, 2009; Hartley, 1999; Tsang, 2011, 2014). The content analyses offer a proposed framework for further emotional labor research in education (Chang, 2009; Tsang, 2014), insight into the applicability of emotional labor in educational research (Tsang, 2011), and an exploration of marketization research and standards in connection with emotional labor (Hartley, 1999). Content analyses provide a critical exploration of existing concepts, hypotheses, theories, and assertions providing for insights into areas such as implications, assumptions, and connections (Petocz & Newbery, 2010, p. 126).

The second research methodology that was applied with significantly less frequency than qualitative research was quantitative methodology (Cheung et al., 2011; Naring et al., 2006; Naring et al., 2012; Philipp & Schupbach, 2010; Richardson et al., 2008; Truta, 2012). The usage

of quantitative methods provides researchers with the means via surveys to gather data from a larger population (Kinman et al., 2011) allowing for a more robust chance to generalize the findings to populations in different environments and conditions (Mertens, 2010). Other researchers and practitioners can use the information either to replicate the research or to support the application of the techniques in K-12 school environment if the study shows strength.

Out of all of the reviewed sources, only three (Brown, 2011; Brown et al., 2014; Brown et al., 2015) applied a mixed methodology approach. No other researchers applied both qualitative and quantitative data collection methods in their research.

The application of qualitative, quantitative, and mixed-methods in the research and discussion of emotional labor in education provides a varied perspective on the topic. Each form of research and discussion offers other researchers and practitioners relevant information that can help support employees, particularly teachers and administrators, in the application of emotional labor as they perform their roles. Helping educators to understand and apply emotional labor can help to improve the educational structure and environment for students.

2.6 IMPLICATIONS OF EMOTIONAL LABOR RESEARCH IN K-12 ORGANIZATIONS

The implications of emotional labor research in education mirror the findings of emotional labor research in other professions: the negative consequences of emotional labor, the newly explored positive consequences, and the mixed findings of negative and positive consequences, which are dependent upon individual and workplace variables. While the findings from emotional labor research in education are similar to studies in other industries, research in education about the

effect of emotional labor on teachers and/or other employee groups within the educational workplace is still in its infancy (Kinman et al., 2011). Because there is also little research on the effects of emotional labor on employees in educational organizations, an understanding of the implications of emotional labor on the organization and most importantly the students is also only beginning to develop.

2.6.1 Negative Consequences of Emotional Labor in K-12 Organizations

As expected from the earlier discussion of historical implications of emotional labor, the majority of the findings in the research literature identified with negative implications of practice. It is important to note that the employee group overwhelming represented throughout this discussion is teachers. This is not a surprise as Table 4 identified this group as the most researched employee group in education. The research regarding administrators included little to no examination of positive or negative implications of emotional labor.

Burnout is a recurrent negative implication of emotional labor in education research. "Freudenberger (1974)…defined burnout as a symptom of emotional depletion and a loss of motivation and commitment" (as cited by Chang, 2009, p. 195). Emotional exhaustion and depersonalization are regularly either part of the discussion of burnout or studied as independent variables. Emotional exhaustion and depersonalization are components of burnout syndrome (Chang, 2009) so researchers often use them in studies as variables (Naring et al., 2006). In the exploration of burnout and its corresponding components, the existing research studied the causes and results of burnout, emotional exhaustion, and depersonalization on teachers.

The studies identified multiple factors that contribute to burnout and the corresponding components of emotional exhaustion and depersonalization. The most frequently referenced

reason for the occurrence of burnout and the corresponding characteristics is the application of surface acting as the selected emotional acting strategy (Cheung et al., 2011; Naring et al., 2006; Naring et al., 2012). This finding aligns with research outside of the field of education that suggests that surface acting has negative consequences such as burnout, emotional exhaustion, and dissonance on employees (Brotheridge & Grandey, 2002; Grandey, 2003; Hochschild, 1983/2012). Based on these findings, surface acting can be a concern for teachers because it is emotionally challenging behavior and can weaken a person by draining their emotional resources (Cheung et al., 2011). However, it is important to note that a recent study found teachers use surface acting as a means of survival (Kerr & Brown, 2015). Though the teachers did not identify negative consequences of using surface acting in this manner, it is not necessarily positive either as teachers are still separating their felt and expressed emotions to perform their work.

Research on emotional labor in teachers also suggests that another source of burnout, emotional exhaustion, and depersonalization might relate to the lack of autonomy felt by teachers regarding their involvement in the emotions they display. Hochschild's (1983/2012) original research discussed the implications of employees having little to no autonomy over their expressed emotions. Hochschild explained the negative effects of limited autonomy via an acting analogy:

> The more often 'tips' about how to see, feel, and seem are issued from above and the more effectively the conditions of the 'stage' are kept out of the hands of the actor, the less she can influence her entrances and exits and the nature of her acting in between. The less influence she has….Either she will overextend herself into the job and burnout, or she will remove herself from the job and feel bad about it. (p. 189)

While Hochschild's (1983/2012) analogy references the control put upon flight attendants, it directly applies to the research findings on teachers. For instance, in the field of education, standards applied by legislators and administrators limit educator autonomy. As the accountability movement in education grows, some research regarding national standards and capability procedures highlights the likelihood that teachers will experience less autonomy due to the confines of these expectations that can be used as implied emotional display rules. Hebson et al. (2007) researched the implications of capability procedures in the United Kingdom. The participants in the study thought that a more technical and standardized approach to instruction was valued over one that allowed the educator to build a relationship with the students (Hebson et al., 2007). Expecting more technical instruction and interactions infers emotional display rules to the educator. These expectations could cause teachers to exhibit consistently neutral emotions and avoid showing excitement, concern, or caring. The study by Hebson et al. (2007) found that the confines of the capability procedures introduced in the United Kingdom to direct employee performance significantly affected the emotional health of the teacher participants. Placing demands on teachers can imply emotive display rules that decrease the amount of control teachers have in their work leading to emotional exhaustion and depersonalization (Naring et al., 2006).

Finally, burnout and/or emotional exhaustion may be associated with the amount of emotional labor required for teachers to maintain relationships with their students (Chang, 2009). Teachers will either express or suppress certain emotions for the sake of their students and/or to provide successful instruction (Jakhelln, 2011). The interaction between teachers and students encompasses a significant amount of emotional interaction and connection with students, as the teacher must develop them socially, emotionally, and academically (Hargreaves, 2005). The constant interaction for the teacher to be successful in this process requires a relationship that

involves emotional demands on the teacher and student. This interaction can place great stress on the teacher leading to a feeling of burnout (Chang, 2009). Other research has conflicted with this finding and shown that the student/teacher relationship is a positive consequence even though the interaction requires emotional labor and the expression and suppression of certain emotions.

The application of emotional labor by educators can lead to emotional dissonance possibly resulting in increased stress and burnout (Richardson et al., 2008). Defined earlier in this discussion as the display of an emotion that is not internally felt (Hochschild, 1983/2012), emotional dissonance can render negative consequences. Teachers encounter a variety of situations where they are likely to display emotions they do not feel. Emotional dissonance can occur when a teacher is angry or frustrated but maintains a calm demeanor during a volatile parent meeting or sustains a smile and positive interaction with a class that is challenging. Continuously displaying emotions that do not align with internal feelings can place a strain on teachers that might lead to additional negative implications for a school environment.

2.6.2 Effects of Negative Consequences of Emotional Labor

When burnout and its related dimensions of emotional exhaustion and depersonalization occur, there are adverse results on the individual and the educational organization. When teachers experience burnout, emotional exhaustion, and/or depersonalization, the most likely constituent group to experience the effects are the students. Teachers can "develop less sympathetic and more cynical attitudes towards their pupils over time" (Kinman et al., 2011, p. 850) which could affect the quality of the student and teacher relationship and influence student achievement (O'Connor & McCartney, 2007). This can also influence instruction. Oliver and Venter explain that not all teachers who experience burnout leave the classroom, which can lead to

ineffectiveness in instruction and/or classroom management (as cited in Chang, 2009, p. 194). While some may not leave the classroom, others experiencing extensive burnout may endure physical and mental anguish, which can harm the teacher and possibly lead to excessive absences (Jakhelln, 2011). Absence from work can lead to increased monetary stress on the school and decreased learning for students depending upon how the school provides substitute coverage for the teacher.

In addition to time off from teaching to address harmful effects of burnout, emotional exhaustion, and depersonalization potentially caused by emotional labor, teachers may consider leaving the profession altogether. Richardson et al. (2008) found a correlation between the application of emotional labor and increased teacher turnover. Specifically, the study found that emotional dissonance and emotional exhaustion, both connecting with emotional labor through the Emotional Labor Scale cited in Kruml & Geddes (2000), had significant associations with the intent of teachers to leave the profession (Richardson et al., 2008, p. 14, 16). The findings are enlightening as they offer another possibility to explain the reason education tends to have a high turnover rate. Between 2008–2009, 8% or 270,000 public school teachers left the profession (National Center for Educational Statistics [NCES], 2011). One of the highest groups to leave was teachers with less than three years of experience (NCES, 2011). The negative consequences such as burnout, emotional exhaustion, and depersonalization associated to emotional labor can place great stress on teachers especially those who are younger and have less experience (Truta, 2012). These findings indicate the need to examine future research with this understanding to help identify potential implications.

2.6.3 Proposed Methods to Diffuse the Negative Effects of Emotional Labor

While the research identified the negative effects of emotional labor, many of the studies also proposed methods to diminish their effects. Two suggestions repeatedly emerged throughout the studies to negate the negative effects of emotional labor on teachers. This included providing support from peers and administrators to new and experienced teachers and the development of skills to avoid the need to surface act or experience emotional dissonance. The implications of emotional labor on the educational work environment have proven to take a toll on the employees, teachers in particular, which has shown to influence the treatment and instruction of students. Understanding techniques to diffuse negative consequences of emotional labor can minimize these effects.

Education is a challenging field. The demand to ensure the learning of every child while being positive, supportive, and caring in all situations is difficult. Situations can arise with students, parents, and colleagues that exacerbate these challenges. The negative and draining emotive demands can result in burnout and its multiple dimensions. Most teachers entering the field seek to develop and participate in professional relationships that help foster their growth and work (Jakhelln, 2011). Social support from peers provides the opportunity for the discussion of instructional and management techniques, to problem solve difficult issues, and to feel backing from peers and/or administration which promotes the development of "reappraisal and adaptive responses to work stress" (Chang, 2009, p. 202). Social support from a variety of sources can help minimize the effects of emotional labor, thus helping teachers to be more effective, avoid burnout, and be satisfied with their work (Kinman et al., 2011). Research has shown that this can be a challenge when established peer interactions and cultures do not support or align with the personal and professional values of an educator (Jakhelln, 2011; Zembylas, 2004).

Social support proves to be a means of helping avoid negative consequences, but educating employees to understand emotions and address situations that can involve emotional labor can also aid in diminishing negative outcomes. In a given day, an educational employee can face a screaming parent and disrespectful students while under the watchful eye of his or her supervisor who is expecting the employee to remain calm and be pleasant in each interaction. The research in this area may be limited to teachers, but administrators, secretaries, maintenance, and paraprofessionals can experience these types of situations. Offering training can help teachers and other employee groups "enhance emotional competence [which] might be beneficial in helping…manage emotional labor and other types of stressor" (Kinman et al., 2011, p. 851). Emotional competence connects with the success of a school employee's work. Maslach encouraged the development of interpersonal skills and adaptations to different interactions (as cited in Richardson et al., 2008) while others have recommended helping employees to reflect upon and understand the decisions underlying their emotions and ways to better control their emotive responses (Chang, 2009). Acquiring this knowledge is beneficial for established employees; however, workers with increased age and experience have shown to be able to apply deep acting and/or deal with emotions that are taxing on an individual (Mackenzie, 2012; Truta, 2012). Experience can develop a knowledge base and skill set that helps the individual as he or she moves throughout his or her career. The group of employees identified by research as needing training in this area is new employees entering the educational workplace (Mackenzie, 2012). Employees early in their careers have not had time to develop knowledge and skills from experience or peers (Mackenzie, 2012). Administrators might consider offering opportunities for new teachers and educational employees to be oriented to the emotional demands of the work environment and/or learn from a mentor (Jakhelln, 2011; Truta, 2012). Offering support thorough

orientation, induction, and professional development can support experienced workers in the educational workplace (Cheung et al., 2011) but is crucial for inexperienced school employees as their decision to remain in the field can be affected by the emotional labor they experience (Richardson et al., 2008).

As Hochschild (1983/2012) indicated in her seminal work, emotional labor has an inherent leaning towards negative consequences on employees. However, research in the educational field has identified that social support and training in a variety of areas can reduce the stress of emotional labor, thus lessening the chances for burnout and its components to affect individuals (Kinman et al., 2011). The recommendations for training are constructive, but most of the research provides limited guidance for practical implementation of those suggestions (Chang, 2009; Mackenzie, 2012; Truta, 2012; Winograd, 2003) and offers broad recommendations for training topics focused on emotional understanding or in areas that can result in emotional interactions, such as parent relationships (Richardson et al., 2008). However, a recent study identified a specific training focused on providing teachers with an understanding of emotional labor theory, which provided teachers with a language to discuss the emotional experiences of their work (Kerr & Brown, 2015). This training focus may offer a foundation to begin the introduction of emotional labor theory to school employees and support future professional development.

2.6.4 Positive Consequences of Emotional Labor in K-12 Organizations

Negative implications often dominate the emotional labor research findings, but recent studies are increasingly finding that emotional labor can have positive effects for employees. Hargreaves

(2005) stated, “Teaching is a labor of love” (p. 281). This labor of love just may combat the labor of applying the appropriate emotions expected by an organization.

A commonly identified emotional labor strategy that supported the positive consequences of emotional labor in education was the application of deep acting. By applying deep acting, teachers are able to identify and alter their emotions to feel a true emotion for an individual or situation. When those in the educational field look at a child or parent and empathize with their situation, the employee may be drawing upon experiences and/or knowledge to engender genuine emotions. The development of these emotions allows for appropriate emotional displays that align internal feelings with external displays for more authentic interactions to the child and parent, lowering the likelihood for dissonance and interpersonal difficulties (Philipp & Schupbach, 2010). By diminishing emotional dissonance, the chances of emotional exhaustion could decrease, allowing for increased health benefits and an increase in the ability to accomplish teaching goals and tasks over a one-year period (Philipp & Schupbach, 2010). This application can contribute to higher job success and performance (Cheung et al., 2011).

Often the research supporting positive emotional labor effects also identifies the negative effects of emotional labor (Isenbarger & Zembylas 2006; Mackenzie, 2012; Zembylas, 2004, 2005). A reoccurring finding in the research explained how the positive emotional rewards teachers felt when working with their students outweighed the negative consequences of emotional labor (Mackenzie, 2012; Zembylas, 2005). Hargreaves (2000) found that teachers gained satisfaction from “strong rewarding classroom relationships” (p.818). The expression of any emotions requires effort on the part of an individual. However, teaching and working in education is unique in that the presence of children may encourage an instinctive desire within school employees to help them grow and attain their potential. As shown by the research above,

this distinctive opportunity may help to negate the negative effects of emotional display expectations enforced by the profession and/or organization with positive rewards.

Emotional labor has extensive implications on the educational workplace. The research may focus on teachers, but the negative and positive consequences expand to other employee groups. Excessive application of surface acting leading to emotional dissonance can place great stress on individuals. This effect can result in poor employee performance and increased turnover. Conversely, deep acting can be beneficial to performance and well-being (Philipp & Schupbach, 2010). Studies have not confirmed that the application of deep acting increases the likelihood of an employee to stay in teaching or a job, but decreasing stress is not likely to force workers from the field of education. Negative and positive consequences greatly influence an employee's feelings about students, self, and profession, but education is unique in that it offers rewards in seeing growth and development in the youngest of our society. As proven, this can help to diminish if not negate the negative effects of emotional labor.

2.7 FUTURE RESEARCH NEEDS

Emotional labor calls for the "coordination of mind and feeling, and it sometimes draws on a source of self that we honor as deep and integral to our individuality" (Hochschild, 1983/2012, p.7). Service organizations expect employees to use their inner source of self to provide emotional displays to further their purpose and function. This often leads to the use of surface or deep acting or naturally felt emotions to meet the established expectations. As Hochschild (1983/2012) expressed, emotions are a deeply personal part of any individual, and when used as a commodity for business, it can lead to negative implications for the individual and organization.

Regularly studied in the fields of retail and hospitality, a growing body of research supports the need for educational organizations to understand the implications of emotional labor on their employees and workplaces.

In K-12 emotional labor research, the number of studies using teachers and administrators as participants represents a gap. A review of the literature shows an overwhelming focus on teachers with administrators at a distant second. Both of these groups represent two extremely important positions in the operation of a school. However, other employee groups are essential in the operations of a K-12 organization. Groups such as clerical, maintenance, paraprofessionals, and nurses provide services within a school and have daily interactions with parents and children. These positions adhere to Hochschild's (1983/2012) definition of service work, therefore they are apt to apply emotional labor and experience the consequences. Further research could determine if K-12 organizations establish and provide emotional display rules for these employees. It could also provide an understanding of how these employees apply emotional labor.

A review of the research not only identified gaps within the methodologies being applied to study emotional labor in education, but it also distinguished the need for further research of certain topics. The fields of retail and hospitality define emotional display rules for employees through training and/or manuals. However, emotional display rules in education often appear in the form of national standards, professional norms, ethics, or organizational /social standards (Brown, 2011; Hartley, 1999; Hebson et al., 2007; Isenbarger & Zembylas, 2006; Sachs & Blackmore 1998; Yin & Lee 2012). In the absence of defined emotional display rules for teachers, Winograd (2003) and Yin and Lee (2012) developed their own emotional display rules based on the data gathered from a self-study and interviews of teachers. The emotional display rules applied in education derive from social, cultural, and historical foundations (Winograd,

2003; Zembylas, 2005). Practical articles, such as "The Seven Principals of Sustainable Leadership" (Hargreaves & Fink, 2004) offer an option for an educator to garner emotional display rules by providing explanations of leadership that identify successful methods of interaction and appropriate displays. Articles like this are helpful, but the lack of explicit emotional display rules makes it challenging for educational employees to understand, explain, and exhibit the appropriate emotion for their position.

This makes the third criterion of Hochschild's (1983/2012) definition of service work, which involves expectations and supervision of employees, difficult, because supervision of emotions is a challenge for the employer and the employee (Isenbarger & Zembylas, 2006). Research in emotional labor in education frequently references the lack of defined emotional display rules, but there is minimal research focused on the implications of implied emotional display rules or on how employees learn those (Yin & Lee 2012). The limited research on emotional display rules for teachers and administrators identifies a gap in research and alludes to the fact that emotional display rules seem not to exist for other educational employee groups. Lack of emotional display rules for these groups is just as critical as it is for their certificated counterparts because of the interactions the groups have with parents and students.

The absence of emotional display rules highlights the need for research of emotional labor training in education. Several studies recognize the need for training of teachers and administrators to understand emotional labor, strategies, and implications (Chang, 2009; Kerr & Brown, 2015; Kinman et al., 2011; Mackenzie, 2012; Oplatka, 2007; Richardson et al., 2008; Truta, 2012; Yin et al., 2013). Training educators, especially those early in their careers, could help increase emotional skills allowing for greater management of emotional labor and the stressors that lead to negative implications such as burnout, emotional exhaustion, and

depersonalization (Kinman et al., 2011). Research acknowledges training as beneficial for educators, but none of the reviewed literature included studies that involved the application of training as treatment to diminish emotional labor or to determine if a training treatment would have an effect on the implications of emotional labor. Again, the likelihood that the usage of training among teachers and administrators could be successful shows it is likely that training could benefit other educational employee groups.

As emotional display rules in education are obscure and training of educational employees about emotional labor is not a regular practice, one could draw the conclusion that emotional labor could be a contributing factor to disciplinary issues within an organization. For example, the behavioral expectations in Pennsylvania School Code, Section 1122 (1949), are an example of implied emotional display rules. This section of the law lists multiple reasons for certificated employees to incur discipline and/or termination. These include immorality, intemperance, and cruelty. Definitions for each of these offenses are broad. Immorality involves actions that go against the morals of the community or set a bad example for children, intemperance is the loss of self-control or restraint, and, cruelty is the infliction of physical and/or psychological pain on another (Pennsylvania Public School Code, 1949). The ability or inability to apply emotional labor could contribute to an employee engaging in one of these acts.

The offenses for certificated employees can also apply to non-certificated employees. In Section 514 of the Pennsylvania Public Schools Code (1949), the law allows public school districts to discipline and/or terminate any employee for intemperance or improper conduct. Application of inappropriate emotional displays could contribute to any of these disciplinable offenses. If an employee were to exhibit extreme anger at a child or parent resulting in screaming, abusive language, and possibly physical interaction, the employee would endure

discipline for violating parts of the school code. However, helping the employee to understand the emotional display rules and the usage of surface and deep acting could possibly help the employee to avoid discipline and/or termination.

In a 2013 study, Page (2013) reviewed the discipline records of educators submitted by schools to a central depository in the United Kingdom and found that the greatest focus of the disciplinary referrals focused solely on an employee's actions. The misbehaviors frequently identified were classroom, legal, and organizational deviance. While Page was able to identify the actions leading to misbehavior, there was no discussion of the motivation or intention of the disciplined educator. By not discussing these factors, the discipline process neglected to examine the role of emotions and emotional labor in poor behavior display. Page identified this is as a much needed area of needed research.

The review of the emotional labor literature in education revealed multiple areas open for future research. It is evident that emotional labor research in education needs to look beyond teachers and administrators and to consider research of all employee groups that are essential in the operation of a school district. Additionally, researchers should consider exploring the level of obscurity of emotional display rules and the existence of training on emotional labor to determine their ramifications on employee discipline. Development of these research areas can provide K-12 educational leaders with practical skills to support their employees, develop their organizations, and provide parents and students a safe, caring environment.

3.0 METHODS

3.1 RATIONALE

Emotional labor theory serves as the theoretical framework for this study. Thoroughly defined in the literature review, the essential elements of emotional labor theory include display rules and surface acting, deep acting, and natural expression. In her research, Hochschild (1983/2012) established criteria to identify service professions that involve emotional labor. K-12 education is one of the service professions that meet Hochschild's criteria. School employees in K-12 organizations (a) interact with school stakeholders such as students and parents, (b) work to create an emotion within another person, and (c) work within established rules and are supervised (Hochschild, 1983/2012, p. 147). Research supports the existence of surface and deep acting strategies and the use of natural emotions by K-12 school employees (Cheung et al., 2011; Fein & Isaacson, 2009; Hebson et al., 2007; Naring et al., 2006; Naring et al., 2012; Philipp & Schupbach, 2010; Truta, 2012; Winograd, 2003; Yin et al., 2013). However, the research shows display rules, an element of emotional labor, are not explicit in the field of education (Brown, 2011; Hartley, 1999; Hebson et al., 2007; Isenbarger & Zembylas, 2006; Sachs & Blackmore 1998; Winograd, 2003; Yin & Lee, 2012; Zembylas, 2005).

The lack of clearly defined display rules makes it difficult for K-12 school employees to know what an organization expects so they can effectively perform their jobs (Diefendorff &

Gosserand, 2003) and avoid discipline (Zembylas, 2005). To address these issues, the research repeatedly calls for training (Chang, 2009; Cheung et al., 2011; Kinman et al., 2011; Mackenzie, 2012; Oplatka, 2007; Richardson et al., 2008; Truta, 2012; Yin et al., 2013). However, before training can occur, a clear understanding of the display rules K-12 organizations have for their employees and how they communication them is essential.

3.2 CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

In addition to the theoretical framework of emotional labor, there are two concepts from the emotional labor research literature that support the focus of this research. First, emotional display rules are antecedents to determining the proper strategy to apply during an interaction (Diefendorff & Gosserand, 2003; Grandey, 2000; Grandey et al., 2013). In their research, Diefendorff and Gosserand (2003) apply the control theory model of emotional labor and Grandey (2000) and Grandey et al. (2013) employ the emotional regulation process. The researchers apply emotional labor theory from differing perspectives, but both models establish display rules as the antecedent to strategy application and consequences. At this time in education, K-12 school organizations merely infer display rules. Because display rules serve to guide employees' emotional expressions, this research examines display rules in K-12 school organizations.

Display rules need to exist before they can guide employees. In their conceptual framework of expressed emotions, Rafaeli and Sutton (1987) identified the organization as the creator of the display rules for employees (p. 24). Existing research involving display rules in K-

12 education solely focuses on employee perspectives identifying the need to investigate the existence of display rules from the organizational perspective.

3.3 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

To gather data from the perspective of the K-12 public school organization on display rules, the following questions guided the study:

1. To what extent do K-12 public school organizations in Pennsylvania have emotional display rules for secretaries (administrative assistants), teachers, custodians, and cafeteria workers?
2. How do K-12 public school organizations in Pennsylvania convey emotional display rules to secretaries (administrative assistants), teachers, custodians, and cafeteria workers?

3.4 DESIGN OF PILOT STUDY

3.4.1 Instrument

The instrument used to gather data regarding the two research questions was a self-administered, anonymous survey. A survey is an effective data collection method for descriptive research (Mertens, 2010). The research questions for this study helped to "produce information about what is or has been happening" (Mertens, 2010, p. 115) with emotional display rules in K-12 public school organizations in Pennsylvania. Descriptive research was appropriate for this study

because of the lack of research on display rules from the perspective of K-12 public school organizations. In addition, application of a survey supported the possible collection of data from a larger population (Mertens, 2010) of K-12 public school organizations in Pennsylvania.

When participating in a survey about their work, respondents may not want to present their organizations in a negative manner or identify practices they are not doing (Fowler, 2014). By making the survey self-administered and anonymous, participants may have been more likely to answer questions and provide accurate responses to sensitive questions (Fowler, 2014).

3.4.1.1 Survey Framework and Content

At this time, a survey does not exist to gather data about emotional display rules from the perspective of K-12 public school organizations. Therefore, it was necessary to develop an original survey. A matrix of the survey questions and supporting references is available in Appendix B, Table 13. Appendix C contains a copy of the survey as viewed by participants in Qualtrics.

Survey Section 1 - Demographics

The demographics section consisted of four questions. The first question asked the participant to identify the type of K-12 public school entity in which he or she worked. The participant options for the type of K-12 organizations were School District, Intermediate Unit, Career and Technical Center, Brick and Mortar Charter School, Cyber Charter School, or None of the Above. This question served as a qualifier for completion of the survey. The qualifying question eliminated individuals who worked in higher education or private schools to ensure participants employment in a K-12 public school entity. In addition, intermediate unit employees, though they work in a form of K-12 public school organization, were not included in the research to decrease the

possibility of multiple employees of the same personnel department completing the survey. This was necessary as intermediate units tend have more employees than other K-12 public school organizations resulting in a larger personnel departments. If a participant selected None of the Above or Intermediate Unit, the survey ended.

The second demographic question identified the participant's role within the K-12 public school organization. K-12 public school organizations manage personnel administration differently within each entity. The type, size, income, and needs of the K-12 public school organization determine if an employee is solely responsible for personnel or if personnel is one of many job duties. The Executive Director of the Pennsylvania Association of School Personnel Administrators (PASPA) confirmed the eclectic nature of the persons responsible for personnel in a personal communication on December 1, 2014, in which he provided information about the membership in the organization, which includes the following school employees:

- Personnel/Human Resources Director;
- Personnel/Human Resources Manager;
- Personnel/Human Resources Specialist;
- Personnel/Human Resources Administrative Assistant;
- Assistant Superintendent;
- Superintendent;
- Principal;
- Assistant Principal.

The list provided by the Executive Director of PASPA served as the list of options for this question. In addition, the option of Other with a text box was available in case the person responsible for personnel worked in a position different than those listed.

The third demographic question asked the participants to approximate the number of employees within his or her organization. Asking the participants to input an approximate total of employees helped identify the size of K-12 public school organizations within Pennsylvania that have an identified employee responsible for personnel administration. In addition, in this researcher's experience the size of the organization often correlates with if personnel administration is single responsibility for an employee or one of many responsibilities.

The final demographic question provided the location of the K-12 public school organization. The location options concur with the general categories of the New Urban-Centric Locale Codes developed by the National Center for Education Statistics (n.d.). The location options were city (urban), suburb, town, and rural.

Survey Section 2- Employee Emotional Expressions

The questions in this section gathered data to answer research question one. Research question one focused on the extent to which emotional display rules exist in K-12 public organizations for secretaries (administrative assistants) teachers, custodians, and cafeteria workers. The development of this section applied existing display rule studies conducted outside of education to guide the framework. It was very likely the study participants did not have a working knowledge of emotional labor theory or display rules. In order to acquire the data, this section of the survey consisted of closed questions about emotional display expectations for four K-12 public school employee groups.

The closed questions in this section of the survey focused on whether K-12 public school organizations in Pennsylvania provided expectations to secretaries (administrative assistants), teachers, custodians, and cafeteria workers about showing positive and negative emotions. The emotions used in the survey questions derived from emotions repeatedly identified in the

literature as positive or negative in educational settings. Table 6 provides a breakdown of the emotions in the corresponding literature.

Table 6. *Common Emotions Identified in Educational Emotional Labor Research*

Type of Emotion	Emotion	Source
Negative	Anger	Isenbarger & Zembylas, 2006; Sachs & Blackmore, 1998; Winograd, 2003; Yin & Lee, 2012; Zembylas, 2002; Zembylas, 2005
Negative	Frustration	Isenbarger & Zembylas, 2006; Winograd, 2003; Zembylas, 2005
Negative	Sadness/Unhappy	Isenbarger & Zembylas, 2006; Winograd, 2003; Yin & Lee, 2012
Positive	Calm	Winograd, 2003; Zembylas, 2002; Zembylas, 2005
Positive	Happiness	Winograd, 2003; Yin & Lee, 2012
Positive	Caring/Concern	Hebson et al., 2007; Isenbarger & Zembylas, 2006; Sachs & Blackmore, 1998; Yin & Lee, 2012

The survey incorporated the emotions in Table 6 into a closed question, which included an emotion and employee group and asked about interacting with either students or parents. The statements ask if the participants' organizations provide expectations to the employee group about showing the given emotions when interacting with either students or parents. This structure applied two out of six structures Kraemer and Hess (2002) used in their research of display rules in the hospitality field. The interactions with students or parents are similar to the interactions

with others and external customers in the display rule study conducted by Diefendorff, Richard, and Croyle (2006).

The closed questions for the survey applied a wording structure similar to the survey statements used by Diefendorff and Richard (2003). In their study, they used "To be effective in his/her job, an employee must..." (Diefendorff & Richard, 2003, p. 288). The closed questions in this section of the survey start "Your K-12 public school organization sets clear expectations for (employee group) about showing…"

The closed questions focused on four K-12 public school employee groups. The employee groups included were secretaries (administrative assistants), teachers, custodians, and cafeteria workers. These employee groups are the likeliest groups for K-12 public school organizations to employ or have in their service. For the majority of K-12 public school organizations to function, they need secretaries (administrative assistants) for clerical and office support, teachers for instruction, custodians for plant maintenance, and cafeteria workers to provide breakfast and/or lunch for students. This researcher considered the inclusion of instructional aides or paraprofessionals, but the employment of this type of support personnel can vary by need, type, and size of the K-12 public school organization. In addition, the survey did not include administrators because of their potential to be responsible for personnel in the organization. Examples of the closed questions in this section are:

Your K-12 public school organization sets clear expectations for ***secretaries (administrative assistants)*** *about showing:*

- Anger when interacting with students;
- Sadness when working with students;
- Frustration when interacting with students;

- Calmness when interacting students;
- Happiness when interacting with students;
- Concern when interacting with students.

Your K-12 public school organization sets clear expectations for ***secretaries (administrative assistants)*** *about showing:*

- Anger when interacting with parents;
- Sadness when working with parents;
- Frustration when interacting with parents;
- Calmness when interaction with parents;
- Happiness when interacting with parents;
- Concern when interacting with parents.

This researcher organized the survey questions by employee group and stakeholder interaction and randomized the questions to limit participant fatigue. It is important to note the survey does not include questions about cafeteria worker emotional displays when interacting with parents as few to no cafeteria workers have direct contact with parents.

A five-point Likert-type scale measured participants' perspectives of intensity for each statement. The five categories were always, often, sometimes, rarely, and never. A five-point scale provided participants with the opportunity to select the level of intensity for each statement along a continuum that aligned with their opinion about the statement (Fowler, 2014).

Survey Section 3 – Conveying Emotional Expression Expectations

The third section of the survey gathered data for research question two. The focus of this section was to gather data about the methods K-12 public school organizations use to convey their expectations for emotional displays to each of the four employee groups. Closed questions

gathered data by applying nominal selections that included orientation, training/professional development, handbook, administrative memo, individual conversation, none of the above, and other (with a textbox). The literature and a pilot study conducted by this researcher guided the options in this section. The literature supports the options of orientation (Brown, 2011; Chang, 2009; Cheung et al., 2011; Kinman et al., 2011; Oplatka, 2007; Richardson et al., 2008; Yin et al., 2013), training/professional development (Mackenzie, 2012; Truta, 2012), and memos/protocols (Zembylas, 2005). A pilot study conducted by this researcher analyzed handbooks from six K-12 public school districts in Pennsylvania and found the existence of display rules in this form of communication (Pfister, 2014). An example statement of these closed questions is "Secretaries (administrative assistants) are informed of organizational expectations for displaying emotions through: (Please select all that apply)".

3.4.2 Content and Construct Validity

The purpose of the survey was to assess K-12 public school organizations' emotional display expectations and methods to communicate these expectations to secretaries (administrative assistants), teachers, custodians, and cafeteria workers. Content validity occurred via feedback from experts. The experts included members of this researcher's dissertation committee with expertise in education, emotional labor, and human resources and a statistician. The experts reviewed the survey from Qualtrics in either paper or online form and provided feedback to ensure the survey questions and structure were clear and likely to acquire data to answer the established research questions.

Construct validity occurred with the aid of this researcher's adviser and educational peers from K-12 public school organizations. The educational peers included two school principals and

a professional development coordinator. All individuals took the survey via Qualtrics and provided feedback on survey structure and clarity.

3.4.3 Participants

The focus of this study was to gather data about display rules from the perspective of K-12 public school organizations in Pennsylvania. However, a researcher cannot survey an organization. Therefore, a representative of the organization who is responsible for personnel matters was likely to offer insight into the organization's expectations for employee behaviors, including emotional expression. In K-12 public school organizations, personnel administrators are responsible for human resources management that includes "all [of] the decisions, strategies, factors, principles, operations, practices, functions, activities and methods related to the management of people" (Society for Human Resource Management, 2014, para. 30). In the field of K-12 education, the role of personnel administration can take different structures depending upon the organization's size and purpose. Some organizations have a department identified as human resources with a director or manager of the same title, while others may have the functions of this department administered by a business manager, superintendent, assistant superintendent, principal, or administrative assistant.

The sample selected as participants for this study were personnel administrators who work in K-12 public school organizations in the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania and are members of the Pennsylvania Association of School Personnel Administrators (PASPA). PASPA is a state affiliate of the American Association of School Personnel Administrators. The organization maintains 389 members representing public, private, charter, cyber, and technical schools and intermediate units (J. Antis, personal communication, December 1, 2014). The

Executive Director of PASPA provided permission to survey the PASPA membership on November 3, 2014 via email.

The PASPA membership was a purposive sampling with maximum variation. This non-probability sample focused on a specific group of individuals with knowledge of personnel matters within K-12 public school organizations increasing the likelihood that they could provide in-depth insight into their organization's display rules (Hesse-Biber, 2010; Mertens, 2010). The participants shared the experience of personnel administration, but there was maximum variation within the group as participants came from different types K-12 public school organizations (e.g., school districts, career and technical centers, and charter schools), different organization locations (e.g., urban, rural, suburban), and performed a variety of administrative roles (Mertens, 2010).

3.4.4 Collection of Data

PASPA maintains a contact list of all members, including email addresses. The Executive Director of the organization communicates with members through PASPA E-Alerts. These alerts inform members of upcoming professional development, provide updates about the organization, and request information for PASPA members from other members about human resources topics.

To collect the data for this study, the Executive Director employed the E-Alert communication method. The E-Alert included information about the researcher, purpose of the study, an internet link to access the survey via Qualtrics, and a due date for completing the survey. The Executive Director sent the first E-Alert on March 10, 2015 and a reminder two weeks later on March 24, 2015. The survey was originally to close three weeks after the distribution of the first E-Alert.

Due to a modest number of completed surveys, the closing deadline changed with the addition of 10 days for participants to complete the survey. To inform participants of the deadline extension, the PASPA membership received a third communication via E-Alert, which included a preface by the Executive Director. Appendix D contains copies of the three PASPA E-Alerts.

Communication via email involving an internet-based survey was as an effective data collection method for these participants because of their membership in a professional organization (Fowler, 2014). In addition, the work accomplished by the members of PASPA implied that they are "highly literate and…likely to be highly interested in the research" (Fowler, 2014, p. 63) increasing the potential success of an internet-based data collection.

The paper copies of the data collected from the survey reside in a locked box with key access. In addition, electronic copies of the data collected are in password-protected files.

3.4.5 Data Analysis Plan

The survey included closed-ended questions. The closed questions produced quantitative data necessitating statistical analysis. Stata-12 software provided quantitative analysis of the acquired data.

Demographic and communication method items were analyzed as categorical variables, using descriptive frequencies and proportions in order to describe the survey sample and methods of communicating emotional display rules.

Likert-type survey questions, assessing emotional display rules, are presented in frequency tables and measures of central tendency were examined (i.e., median, mean, standard deviation). The mean and median provide "numerical index of the average score distribution" (Huck, 2012, p. 28). The statistical analysis applied mean and median to provide a clearer explanation of the

findings for the reader because the data have different numerical values (Huck, 2012, p. 28). In addition, standard deviation identified the dispersion among all data acquired compared with other methods of variability, which rely only a limited scores (Huck, 2012). Each item was analyzed independently and through composite variables (i.e., summary scores for particular domains). For example, the means and standard deviations for calm items across employee groups are reported so that this emotional domain can be compared to other emotional domains. Likewise, summary scores were calculated for all emotions across a particular employee group, so the overall emotional display rule scores for employee groups can be compared to one another.

As this study was exploratory in nature, the summary tables and descriptive statistics are the primary approach to answer research questions one and two. The data analysis did not include exploratory, inferential analyses as the sample size was not adequate and the data did not demonstrate adequate variability.

4.0 FINDINGS

4.1 SAMPLE

The membership of PASPA consists of 389 members (J. Antis, personal communication, December 1, 2014). All members of the organization received the survey request via a PASPA E-Alert on three occasions. The first two E-Alerts resulted in a modest response of 18 completed surveys. A third E-Alert, which included a preface from the executive director of PASPA, resulted in 20 additional completed surveys. Notated below is the number of responses for each question. The overall survey received 38 complete surveys equaling 9.7% of the PASPA membership. Borg and Gall identifies a recommended sample size of 100 participants for a major subgroup and 20-50 participants for a minor subgroup (as cited in Mertens, 2010, p. 331). However, no agreed upon standard exists to identify a minimum acceptable response rate (Fowler, 2014, p. 44).

4.1.1 Demographic Data

A difference exists in the number of completed surveys and the number of responses for the demographic questions. The demographic questions received between 54 and 73 responses. The demographic questions provide descriptive or "background" information about the survey respondents (Mertens, 2010). Respondents could answer the demographic questions without

completing the entire survey. Therefore, the demographic questions individual response rates are higher than the total number of completed surveys (n=38).

4.1.1.1 Demographic Question 1

Question 1 of the demographics section had 73 respondents. The majority of the respondents (51) worked for school districts. Two participants worked for a brick and mortar charter school and one for a cyber-charter. In addition, eight employees from career and technical centers responded. Intermediate units accounted for 11 responses to this individual question. When respondents selected Intermediate Unit, the survey ended. Due to the number of employees, Intermediate Units can have human resource departments with multiple employees who join PASPA. In order to avoid the possibility of multiple participants from the same organization, respondents from Intermediate Units were not included in the sample for the remainder of the survey.

4.1.1.2 Demographic Question 2

Question 2 (participant position) received 56 responses. Participants identifying as holding a position in a human resources/personnel department totaled 42 (director=28; manager=9; specialist=5). The remaining participants identified as administrative assistant (2), superintendent (2), assistant superintendent (1), and principal (3). None of the participants selected assistant principal.

If a participant did not hold one of the positions provided, he or she could select "Other" and provide his or her title. The additional position titles provided by participants were Executive Director, Benefits Coordinator, Director of Curriculum and Instruction, Assistant Business

Administrator, Administrative Director, and Business Manager. There was only one participant for each additional title.

4.1.1.3 Demographic Question 3

Question 3 asked each respondent (n=54) to approximate the number of secretaries (administrative assistants), teachers, custodians, and cafeteria workers in their organization. The smallest K-12 organization employed 40 identified employees and the largest employed 1,866. Table 7 contains an overview of the responses by reported number of employees.

Table 7. *Number of Employees in Participant Organizations*

Range of Employee Total	Number of Responses
Fewer than 100 employees	7
100 – 199 employees	2
200 – 299 employees	7
300 – 399 employees	3
400 – 499 employees	9
500 – 599 employees	8
600 – 699 employees	5
700 – 799 employees	1
800 – 899 employees	3
900 – 999 employees	2
More than 1,000 employees	7

4.1.1.4 Demographic Question 4

The final demographic question asked respondents (n=55) to identify the location of their organization. Most participants worked in a K-12 organization located in a suburb (27). The remaining respondents identified their locations as rural (14), town (8), and city (urban) (6).

4.2 RESEARCH QUESTION 1: TO WHAT EXTENT DO K-12 PUBLIC SCHOOL ORGANIZATIONS IN PENNSYLVANIA HAVE EMOTIONAL DISPLAY RULES FOR SECRETARIES (ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANTS), TEACHERS, CUSTODIANS, AND CAFETERIA WORKERS?

4.2.1 Emotional Display Rules for Secretaries (Administrative Assistants)

4.2.1.1 Interactions with Students

The respondents indicated a greater tendency to guide secretaries' (administrative assistants) positive emotional displays when interacting with students than their negative emotional displays. Figure 1 shows the dispersion of responses for each question.

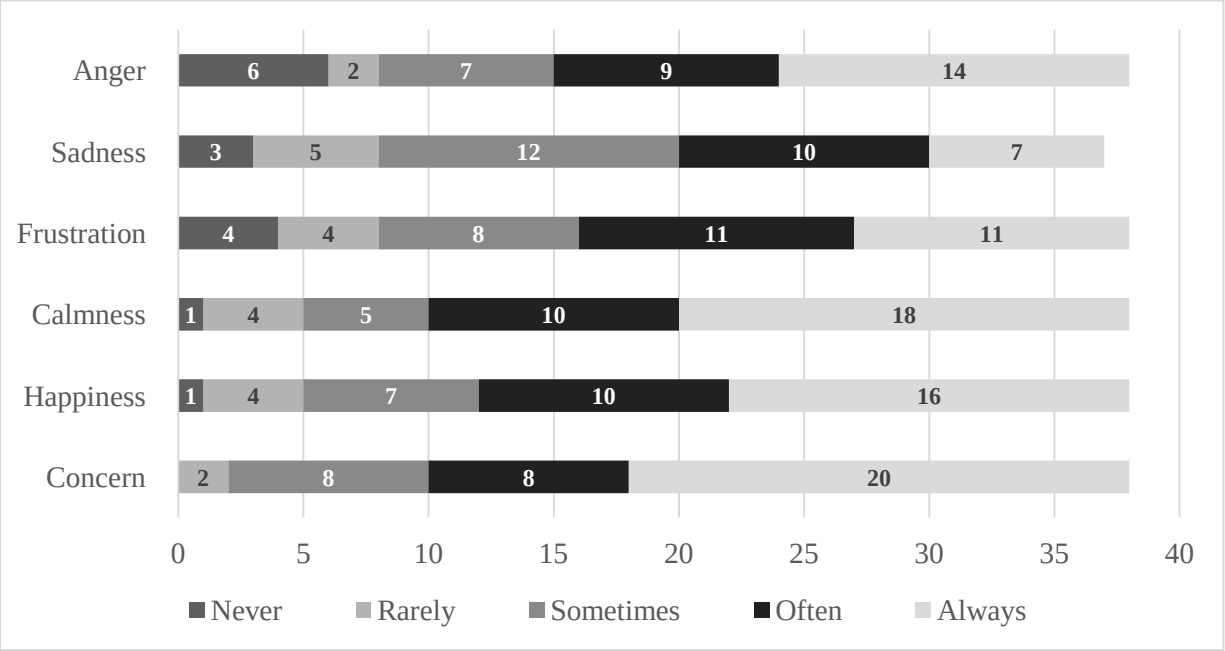

Figure 1. Secretaries' (Administrative Assistants) Interactions with Students

Five of the questions received 38 responses and one (sadness) received 37 responses. The respondents selected "Always" the most for the majority of questions. Sadness was the only question in which "Sometimes" was the most selected frequency by the respondents.

Overall, the data indicated the existence of emotional display rules across all emotional displays. However, there is a nominal difference between the existence of positive and negative emotional displays. Emotional display rules were most likely to exist for calmness (M= 4.1; SD= 1.1), happiness (M= 3.9; SD= 1.1), and concern (M= 4.2; SD= 1.0). Negative display rules were slightly less consistent for anger (M= 3.6; SD=1.4), sadness (M= 3.4; SD= 1.2), and frustration (M= 3.6; SD= 1.3). The respondents indicated their organizations were most likely to provide emotional display rules for concern when secretaries (administrative assistants) interacted with students and the least for the expression of sadness. Table 14 in Appendix E provides the frequency responses for these questions.

4.2.1.2 Interactions with Parents

The respondents indicated a slightly greater focus on secretaries (administrative assistants) understanding the emotional expression expectations for calmness when interacting with parents than concern. Overall, the respondents' K-12 organizations are more likely to provide emotional display rules for positive emotional expressions than negative. Figure 2 shows the dispersion of responses for each question.

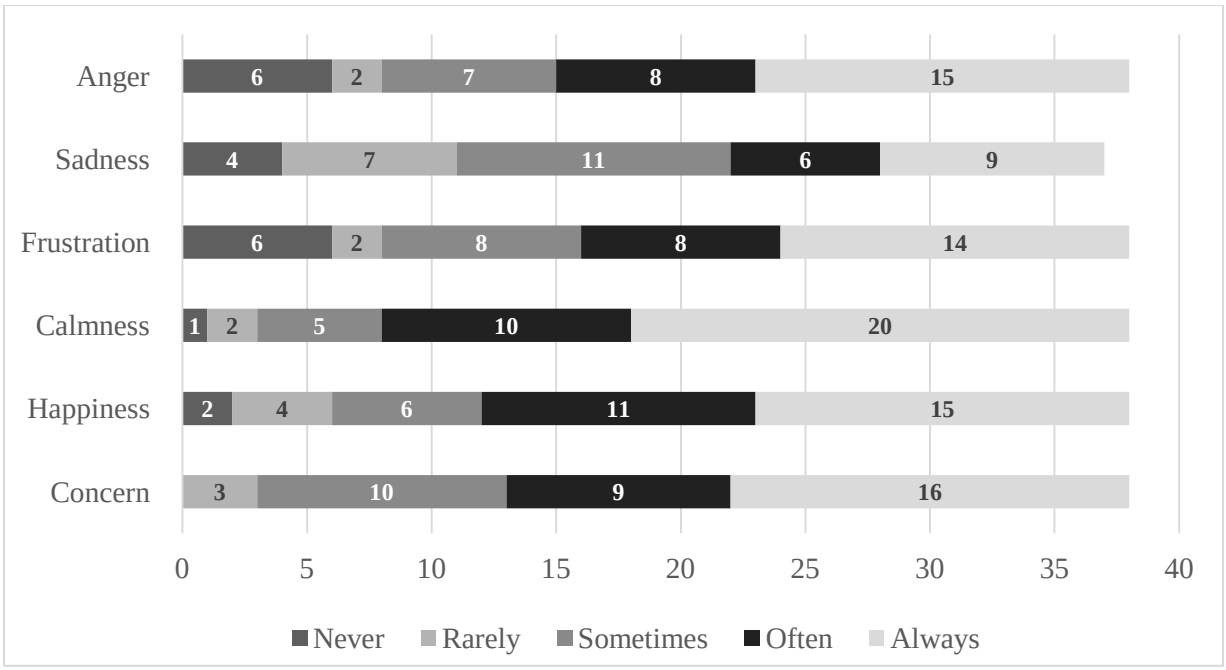

Figure 2. Secretaries' (Administrative Assistants) Interactions with Parents

The respondents provided responses similar to their responses in the previous section. For the majority of the questions, the 38 respondents selected "Always" more than any other frequency. The question about sadness has one less respondent (n= 37). In addition, "Sometimes" was the most selected frequency for the emotion of sadness compared with "Always" for the other five questions.

The respondents indicated their K-12 organizations had greater focus on providing secretaries (administrative assistants) with expectations for positive emotional displays (calmness *M*= 4.2, *SD*= 1.0; concern *M*= 4.0, *SD*= 1.0; happiness *M*= 3.9, *SD*= 1.2). The respondents indicated their organizations provide negative emotional display rules less consistently (anger *M*= 3.6, *SD*= 1.5; sadness *M*= 3.2, *SD*= 1.3; frustration *M*= 3.6, *SD*= 1.4). The emotional display

rules for interactions with parents are most likely to exist for calmness and least likely to exist for sadness. Table 15 in Appendix E provides the frequency responses for these questions.

4.2.2 Emotional Display Rules for Teachers

4.2.2.1 Interactions with Students

The findings for the frequency of emotional display rules to guide teacher interactions with students were unexpected. Respondents selected "Often" the most for the majority of questions instead of "Always". Figure 3 shows the dispersion of responses for each question.

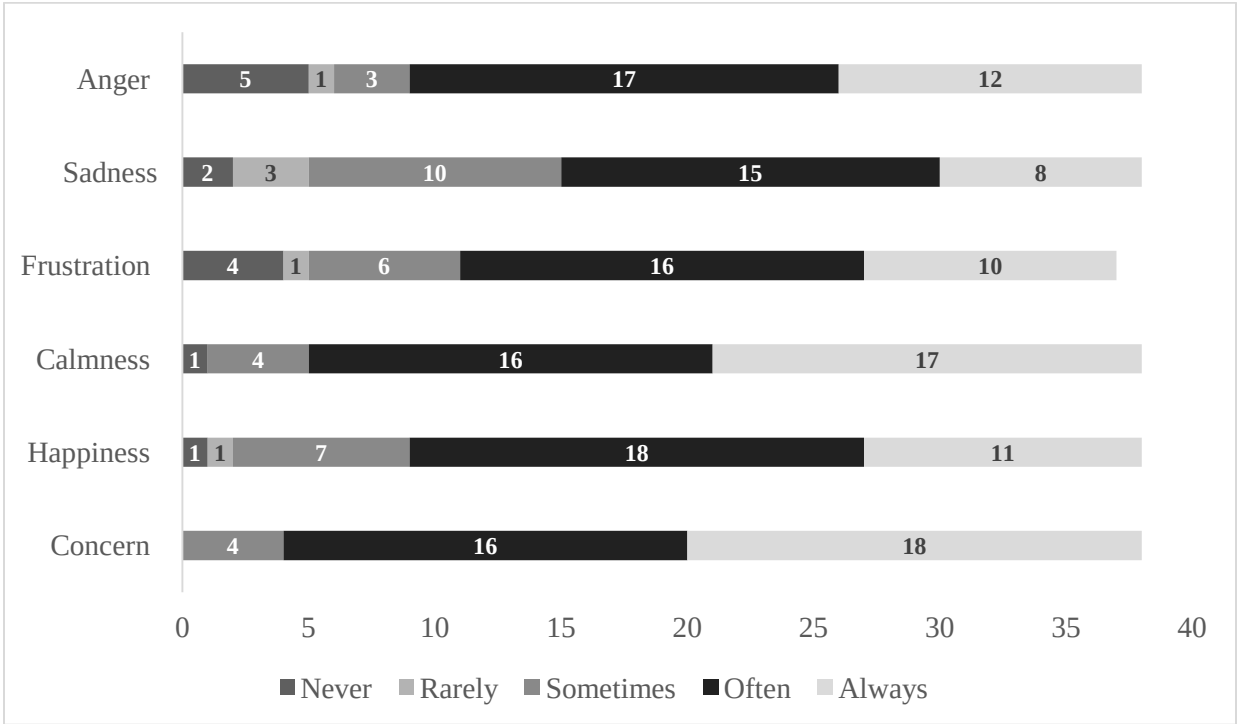

Figure 3. Teachers' Interactions with Students

The questions in this section received 38 responses except for one question (frustration), which received 37 responses. The respondents indicated their K-12 organizations are less likely to provide teachers with emotional display rules for anger (*M*= 3.8; *SD*= 1.3), sadness (*M*= 3.6; *SD*= 1.1), and frustration (*M*= 3.7; *SD*= 1.2). In comparison, the respondents indicated greater existence of emotional display rules for concern (*M*= 4.4; *SD*= 0.7), calmness (*M*=4.3 *SD*= 0.9), and happiness (*M*= 4.0; *SD*= 0.9*)*. Table 16 in Appendix E provides the frequency responses for these questions.

4.2.2.2 Interactions with Parents

The responses (n= 37) mirrored the unexpected findings in the teacher/student interactions section. The respondents selected "Often" the most for the majority of questions. Figure 4 shows the dispersion of responses for each question.

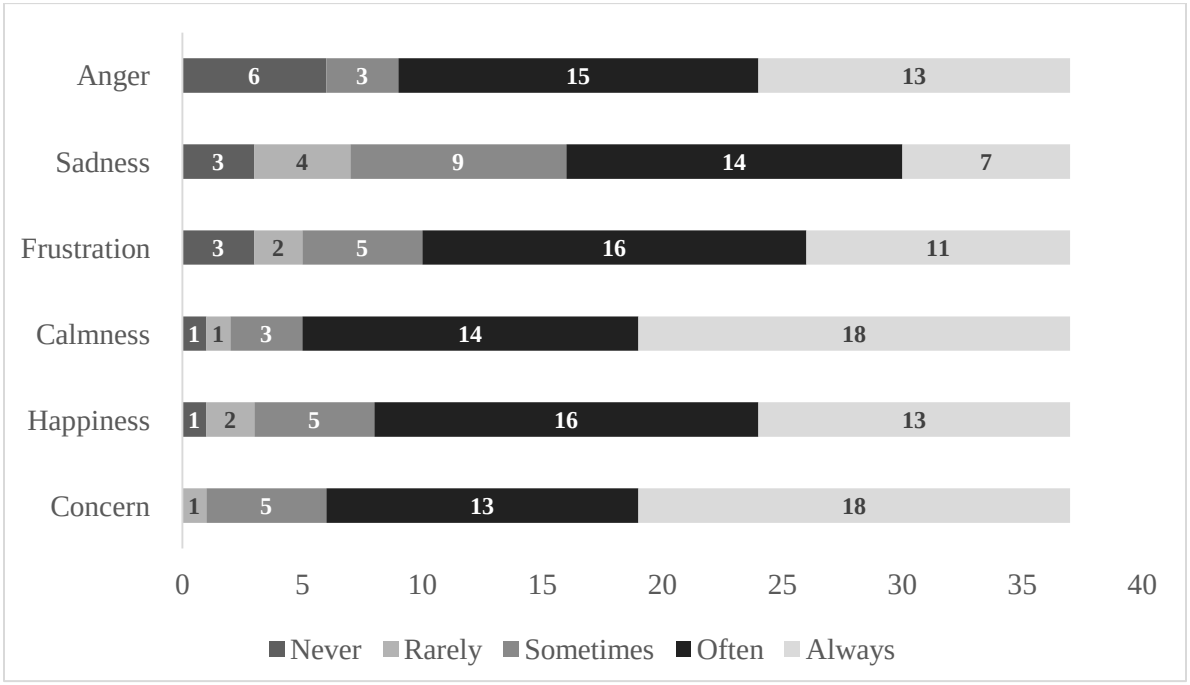

Figure 4. Teachers' Interactions with Parents

The findings show no distinct difference between the positive and negative emotional display rules. The respondents indicated similar levels of frequency for the existence of emotional display rules for anger (*M*= 3.8, *SD*= 1.4), frustration (*M*= 3.8, *SD*= 1.2), and happiness (*M*= 4.0, *SD*= 1.0). Emotional display rules exist for sadness (*M*= 3.5, *SD*= 1.2) at a marginal to significantly less frequency.

Calmness and concern differ from the other emotional expressions as the respondents selected "Always" the most and "Never" and "Rarely" the least. The respondents indicated their K-12 organizations have the greatest tendency to establish emotional display rules for concern (*M*= 4.3, *SD*= 0.8) and calmness (*M*= 4.3, *SD*= 0.9) for teacher/parent interactions. Table 17 in Appendix E provides the frequency responses for these questions.

4.2.3 Emotional Display Rules for Custodians

4.2.3.1 Interactions with Students

The 38 respondents indicated a low probability of emotional display rules for custodian/student interactions. The findings notably vary across the scale with none of the questions reaching a mean of 4.0 or a standard deviation below 1.2. Figure 5 shows the dispersion of responses for each question.

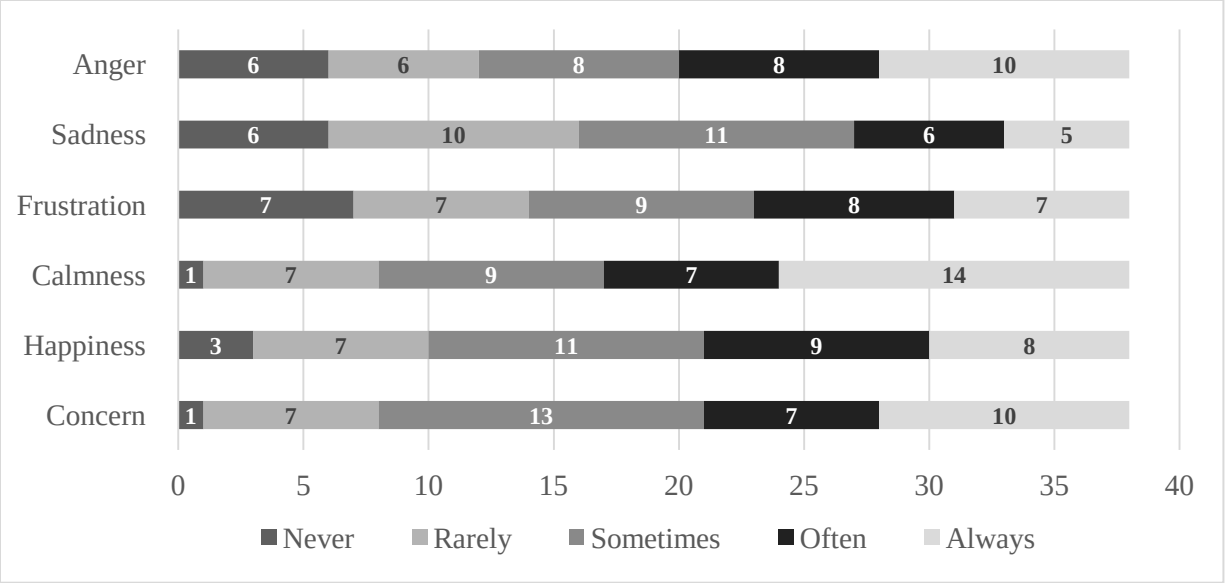

Figure 5. Custodians' Interactions with Students

Overall, the respondents identified the emotional display rule their K-12 organizations are most likely to direct for custodians when interacting with students is calmness (*M*= 3.7; *SD*= 1.2). This is a unique finding as concern was the emotional display most likely to incur guidance by the respondents' K-12 organizations when an employee interacts with students. However, for custodians concern (*M*= 3.5, *SD*= 1.2) was second.

The respondents indicate the existence of emotional display rules for anger (*M*= 3.3, *SD*= 1.4), frustration (*M*= 3.0, *SD*= 1.4), and happiness (*M*= 3.3, *SD*= 1.2) vary across the surveyed K-12 organizations. The majority of respondents indicated a very minimal existence of emotional display rules for sadness (*M*= 2.8, *SD*= 1.3). Table 18 in Appendix E provides the frequency responses for these questions.

4.2.3.2 Interactions with Parents

In this section, 36 respondents answered four questions (anger, sadness, happiness, and concern) and 35 answered two questions (frustration and calmness). Positive emotional display rules were significantly more likely to exist than negative emotional display rules. Figure 6 shows the dispersion of responses for each question.

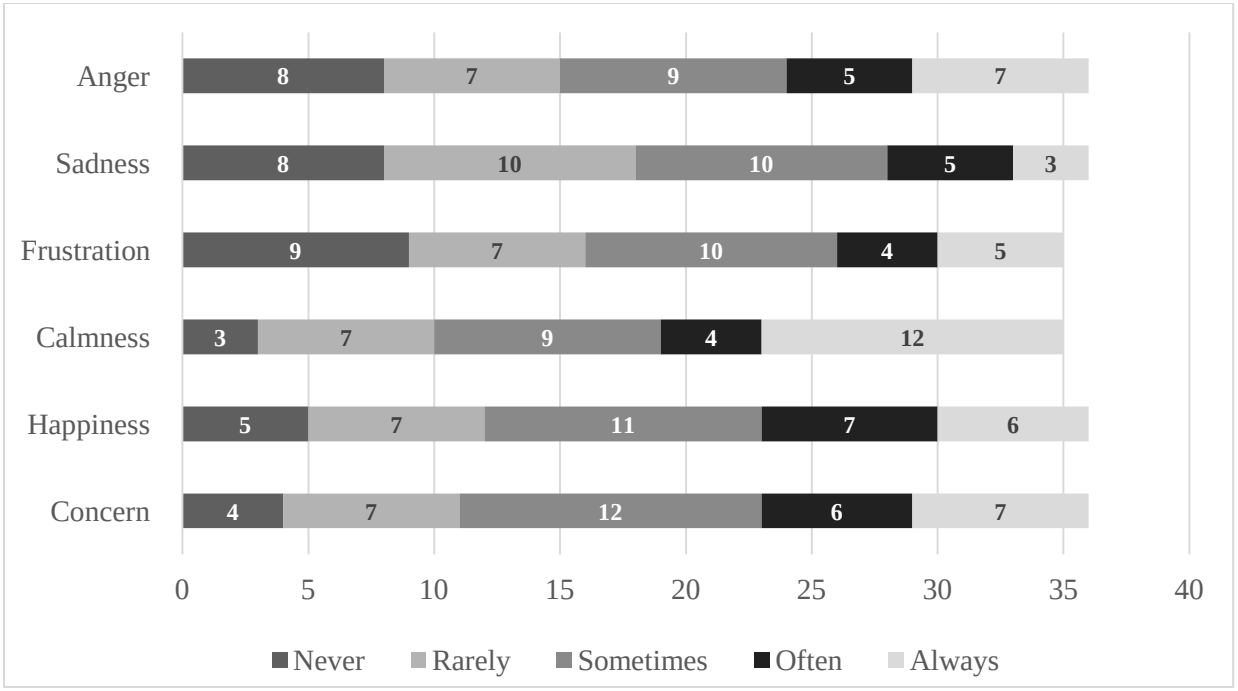

Figure 6. Custodians' Interactions with Parents

Emotional display rules for negative emotions were minimal for custodian interactions with parents. The respondents indicated very little existence of emotional display rules for anger (M= 2.9), sadness (M= 2.6), or frustration (M= 2.7). However, positive emotional display rules have a greater possibility of existence though at still at a lower frequency than for the previous employee groups. The respondents identified calmness (M= 3.4) as the emotion with the greatest likelihood of emotional display rules.

The responses to the questions of custodian/parent interactions were the most varied of all employee groups with either student or parent interactions. The dispersion of responses resulted in collectively higher standard deviations of 1.4 (anger, frustration, and calmness) and 1.3 (happiness and concern). The respondents appeared to somewhat agree on the lack of emotional display rules for sadness resulting in the lowest standard deviation of 1.2. Table 19 in Appendix E provides the frequency responses for these questions.

4.2.4 Emotional Display Rules for Cafeteria Workers

4.2.4.1 Interactions with Students

The questions about cafeteria worker/student interactions received the fewest responses (n= 35) for the emotional display rule section of the survey. The respondents' K-12 organizations had a moderate probability of having emotional display rules for this employee group.

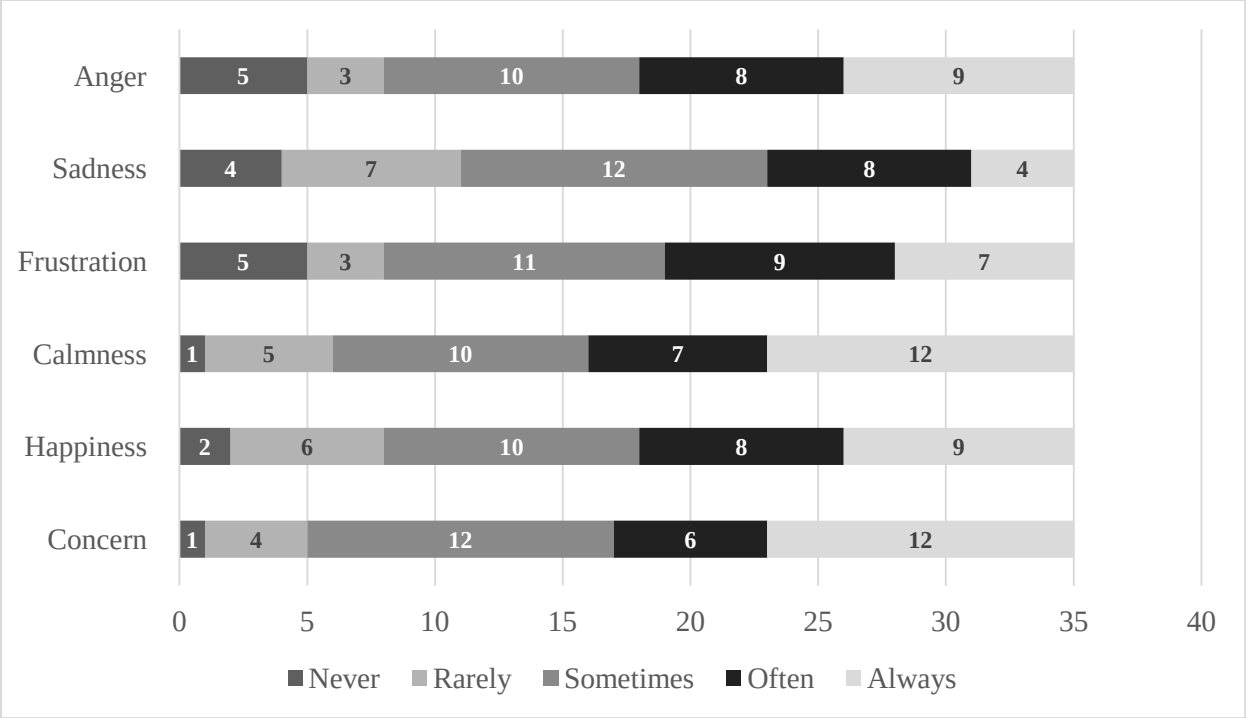

Figure 7. Cafeteria Workers' Interactions with Students

A minimal difference exists between the existence of positive and negative emotional display rules. As in previous findings, the existence of emotional display rules for sadness (*M*= 3.0) is least likely of all six emotions. However, K-12 organizations are most likely to provide emotional display rules to cafeteria workers about calmness (*M*= 3.7) and concern (*M*= 3.7). Anger (*M*= 3.4), happiness (*M*= 3.5), and frustration (*M*= 3.3) are slightly less likely.

The standard deviations for each question indicate similar levels of variance across all emotional displays. Sadness, calmness, happiness, and concern had a standard deviation of 1.2 while anger (*SD*= 1.4) and frustration (*SD*= 1.3) are just slightly higher. Table 20 in Appendix E provides the frequency responses for these questions.

4.2.5 Composite Data

4.2.5.1 Employee Group

Tables 8 and 9 provide descriptive statistics of responses across all emotional displays for each employee group by interactions with students or parents. The sample size is the average number of responses across all six questions per employee group.

Table 8. *Statistical Composite by Employee Group with Student Interactions*

	Frequency of Responses			
Domain	*N*	*Median*	*M*	*SD*
Secretaries (Administrative Assistants)	37	3.8	3.8	0.9
Teacher	37	4	4.0	0.7
Custodian	38	3	3.3	0.9
Cafeteria Worker	35	3	3.4	0.9

Overall, the composite data indicated the respondents' K-12 organizations provide emotional display rules for the six identified emotions "Sometimes" to "Often" when secretaries (administrative assistants), teachers, custodians, and cafeteria workers interact with students. However, the respondents indicate a lack of consistency in the frequency emotional display rules exist across the employee groups. The composite data indicated minimal variances across responses when viewed by employee group.

Table 9. *Statistical Composite by Employee Group with Parent Interactions*

	Frequency of Responses			
Domain	*N*	*Median*	*M*	*SD*
Secretary (Administrative Assistants)	37	3.5	3.8	0.9
Teacher	37	4	3.9	0.7
Custodian	34	3	3.0	1.1

The composite data in Table 9 do not include cafeteria workers, as the survey did not ask questions about their interactions with parents. The respondents indicate emotional display rules exist "Sometimes" to "Often" when secretaries (administrative assistants) and teachers interact with parents. However, emotional display rules exist "Rarely" to "Sometimes" for custodians. Overall, the responses vary minimally for secretaries (administrative assistants) and teachers but are notably higher for custodians.

4.2.5.2 Emotional Display

Tables 10 and 11 provide composite data of the responses per emotional display separated by interactions with students and parents. The sample size is an average of the number responses for each question.

Table 10. *Statistical Composite by Emotional Expression during Student Interactions*

	Frequency of Responses			
Domain	*N*	*Median*	*M*	*SD*
Anger	35	3.5	3.5	1.3
Sadness	34	3.3	3.2	1.1
Frustration	34	3.5	3.4	1.2
Calmness	35	3.8	3.9	1.0
Happiness	35	3.5	3.7	1.0
Concern	35	4.0	3.9	0.9

The respondents tended to vary their responses more for negative emotional displays than positive. The respondents' K-12 organizations are most likely to set emotional display rules for concern and calmness and least likely for sadness when the four employee groups interact with students. Overall, the respondents indicated their K-12 organizations provide emotional display rules for the six given emotions "Sometimes" to "Often" indicating the existence of emotional display rules.

Table 11. *Statistical Composite by Emotional Expression during Parent Interactions*

	Frequency of Responses			
Domain	*N*	*Median*	*M*	*SD*
Anger	35	3.7	3.4	1.3
Sadness	35	3.0	3.0	1.1
Frustration	34	3.3	3.3	1.2
Table 11 (continued)				
Calmness	34	4.0	4.0	1.0
Happiness	35	3.7	3.6	1.0
Concern	35	3.7	3.8	0.9

This composite does not include cafeteria workers. The respondents indicate emotional display rules for the emotions listed in Table 11 are slightly less likely to exist to guide employee interactions with parents than with students. In addition, the data indicates emotional display rules are most likely to exist for the emotional expression of calmness when interacting parents in comparison to concern and calmness having the same likelihood when interacting with students. The variance of responses is slightly to significantly higher for parental interactions. The data do not identify a significant difference of emotional display rules by positive and negative emotional display but do indicate differences in existence of emotional display rules based on the individual emotion. An example is the consistent low mean for the emotion of sadness compared with consistent high means for calmness and concern.

4.3 RESEARCH QUESTION 2: HOW DO K-12 PUBLIC SCHOOL ORGANIZATIONS IN PENNSYLVANIA CONVEY EMOTIONAL DISPLAY RULES TO SECRETARIES (ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANTS), TEACHERS, CUSTODIANS, AND CAFETERIA WORKERS?

The respondents' identified methods of communicating emotional display rules to the four employee groups provided interesting findings. Individual conversations present as the most significant means of communication across all employee groups, while orientation and training /professional development (PD) clearly focus on teachers.

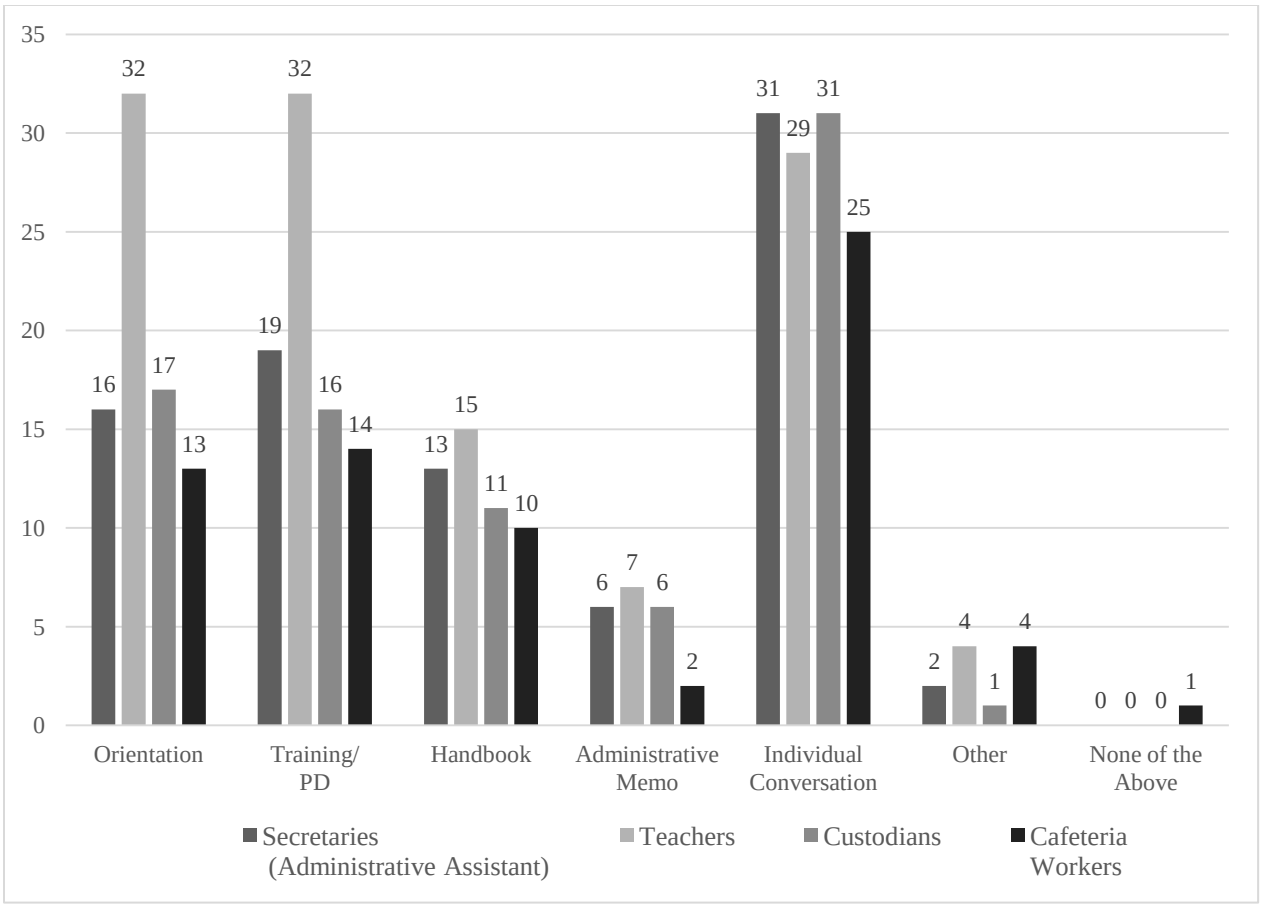

Figure 8. Communication Methods of Emotional Display Rules by Employee Group

The findings in the previous section indicate the existence of emotional display rules for secretaries (administrative assistants), teachers, custodians, and cafeteria workers. For employees to be able to know and/or implement the rules, K-12 organizations need to communicate their expectations for emotional expressions to employees.

The survey provided respondents with the ability to select all communication methods their organizations use to inform the four employee groups about emotional display rules. All employee groups had 38 respondents except for cafeteria workers who had 36. Two respondents indicated cafeteria workers either were "not district employees" or were outsourced.

The most significant finding was the application of individual conversations to inform the four employee groups of emotional display rules. The respondents were consistent in the usage of this method across all employee groups (secretaries= 31; teachers= 29; custodians= 31; cafeteria workers= 25). The respondents did not select another communication method at this frequency. The next closest methods were training/professional development (secretaries= 19; teachers= 32; custodians= 16; cafeteria workers= 14) and orientation (secretaries= 16; teachers= 32; custodians= 17; cafeteria workers= 13), which identifies a notable gap. Respondents' selections indicate a preference towards verbal communication methods compared with written communication as shown by their lower selection rates for handbooks (secretaries= 13; teachers= 15; custodians= 11; cafeteria workers= 10) and administrative memos (secretaries= 6; teachers= 7; custodians= 6; cafeteria workers= 2).

The reverse of the high selection for "Individual Conversations" was the minimal to no selection of "None of the Above". The respondents' lack of selecting "None of the Above" implies the existence of some form of communication of emotional display expectations by their K-12 organizations to the four employee groups. However, the respondents indicated two forms of communication are more widely used with teachers than with the other groups. The application of orientation and training/PD occurs with teachers 50% more than with the other employee groups. One respondent specifically identified induction as a means of communication for emotional display rules to teachers.

In addition to the given forms of communication methods, respondents provided other methods of communication used by their organization for each employee group. The only additional communication method consistent across all employee groups was policy, which was provided by one respondent. Respondents identified evaluations as a means of communicating

emotional display rules to teachers (2) and secretaries (1). One respondent also included discipline as a communication method for teachers and secretaries. One respondent identified "feedback to manager" for cafeteria workers, which may be a result of outsourcing this employee group.

4.4 OPEN-ENDED QUESTION: ADDITIONAL EMPLOYEE GROUPS OR EMOTIONAL EXPRESSIONS

The final survey question provided respondents with the opportunity to recommend additional employee groups or emotional expressions to be included in the survey. The greatest recommendation was the addition of transportation workers (e.g., bus drivers) by four respondents. Two respondents recommended the addition of substitutes (a specific type was not provided) and administrators. Individual respondents recommended instructional assistants, board members, technology department members, and supplemental coaches. None of the respondents recommended additional emotional displays.

5.0 DISCUSSION AND IMPLICATIONS

The research on emotional labor identified the implied existence of emotional display rules in K-12 organizations. As shown in the literature review, the overwhelming majority of this understanding derives from teachers who work within the display rules. However, there is no known research exploring this topic from the perspective of the K-12 organization. Therefore, the aim of this research was to describe the extent to which K-12 public school organizations have emotional display rules for their employees (e.g., secretaries or administrative assistants, teachers, custodians, and cafeteria workers) and how organizations communicate them.

5.1 AVOIDANCE OF EMOTIONS

Previous research on teachers' emotional labor indicates teachers want to discuss emotional displays but acknowledge this does not occur (Brown, 2011; Zembylas, 2004). The desire to avoid conversations on emotional expressions may explain the modest response to the survey for this research and the steep decline between the responses to the demographic and emotional expression questions.

When working with employees, personnel administrators focus on observable actions and state they cannot guess the thoughts or feelings of another person as the reason. The focus on observable actions by personnel administrators may stem from the perspective that emotions are

private, internalized occurrences experienced by an employee (Zembylas, 2005). Applying this perspective to emotions can cause one to focus on the difficulty of measuring emotions and use only the technical aspects to assess one's job or a situation because they are easier to measure (Hebson et al., 2007). For example, if two custodians are caught fighting, it is likely the investigation will focus on did the fight happen and who started it (technical aspects). The investigation is less likely to explore the underlying source of the anger (emotional aspect) that contributed to the physical altercation.

In addition to viewing emotions as private occurrences, schools, like other organizations, tend to value rationality over emotionality (Winograd, 2003). Organizational focus on rationality may make the discussion of emotions challenging and uncomfortable. Personnel administrators could view the discussion of observable actions as a more rational management of a situation than discussing a person's emotions. It may seem more rational because observable actions appear grounded in the facts of a situation compared with the emotions experienced by the individual participants. However, when describing a situation, observers cannot describe participants' internal feelings, but they can describe their emotional expressions. The current perspective that focuses on observable actions causes one to wonder: do personnel administrators understand the link between observable actions and emotional expression?

Existing research on school organizations provides possible insights into the reluctance of K-12 organizations to discuss emotions. However, the reluctance to discuss emotions in K-12 organizations offers a future research opportunity, which could explore the above wondering and perspectives of K-12 employees' reasons for avoiding discussions of emotions. The next section explores employee boundaries as an aspect of organizational culture.

5.2 STRUCTURED AND PERCEIVED BOUNDARIES

Over time, a culture develops in an organization when a group has "stability and common history" (Schein, 1990, p.111). In an organization's culture, rules (written and unwritten), traditions, norms, and expectations guide the behavioral, cognitive and emotional processes of the group (Deal & Peterson, 2009; Schein, 1990). K-12 public school organizations across Pennsylvania share a general culture that guides and directs their operations. The exact operations of each organization may differ, but K-12 public school organizations across Pennsylvania connect through purpose, governance, and law.

A part of organizational culture is structured and perceived boundaries. Boundaries exist to provide organizations with the ability to separate, define, and/or structure a variety of operations (Monroe, 2004). Organizational boundaries need to be fluid so they can be firm for routine tasks and moveable for more complex issues (Monroe, 2004, p. 114).

In Pennsylvania K-12 public school organizations, boundaries exist between employee groups through a variety of structures (e.g., labor contracts, policy, school code). Organizations use labels such as *certified/noncertified* to identify employees by certification status, which divides the employees by those who are involved in instruction and those who are not. The perception of how much an employee interacts with students and parents can guide a K-12 organization's expectations and communication for an employee group. This is especially true for guiding employee emotional displays, which can encourage personnel administrators to ask of their organizations: What emotional display expectations do we have for our secretaries (administrative assistants), teachers, custodians, and cafeteria workers, and how are we communicating them?

In this study, personnel administrators affirmed the boundaries between employee groups. The respondents' K-12 organizations were more likely to provide teachers with emotional display rules than secretaries (administrative assistants), custodians, and cafeteria workers. The respondents indicated teachers were the only employee group who often has emotional display rules in comparison to the other groups who received them rarely to sometimes.

5.3 WHAT EMOTIONAL DISPLAY EXPECTATIONS DO WE HAVE FOR OUR SECRETARIES (ADMINISTRATIVE ASSISTANTS), TEACHERS, CUSTODIANS, CAFETERIA WORKERS, AND HOW ARE WE COMMUNICATING THEM?

This section of this discussion will explore the implications of this research by employee group. Prior to beginning this section, it is necessary to note the important role each employee group plays in the function and operation of K-12 organizations (Deal & Peterson, 2009). The descriptions of each employee group included below are generalizations about the position. Individual K-12 organizations may have additional expectations and/or employees may provide additional services for students or the organization when serving in these roles.

5.3.1 Secretaries (Administrative Assistants)

Secretaries (administrative assistants) have a unique position within a K-12 organization. Their interactions with students and parents are often brief, but the frequency and personal nature can greatly vary. In some situations, secretaries may rarely speak with a student or parent as they do not have any need to contact the main office or a given department in the organization. However,

with others the secretary may be in contact daily and aware of personal and confidential information due to the needs of the student and parent. For example, a secretary may know the intimate details of family's custody arrangement as a child may ride different buses or have a different custodial parent each day. In addition, secretaries are usually the first people to greet a student entering the office or parent calling on the phone. These interactions can span from being neutral to emotionally charged depending upon the purpose of the interaction. The interactions secretaries have with students and parents are unpredictable.

Research confirms that clerical workers engage in emotional labor with evidence of display rules because of the position's interactions with the public (Grandey, 2003; Hochschild, 1983/2012). As the previous research speaks of clerical workers in general and does not indicate the depth of existence, the findings of this study appear to agree. The personnel administrators in this study indicated that their organizations often provide their secretaries with expectations to show concern and calmness and only sometimes provide expectations for displaying anger and frustration. In addition, the personnel administrators indicated they are more likely to speak individually with a secretary about their organizations' emotional display rules than to provide training, professional development, or a written document.

The findings from this study imply a potential challenge for K-12 organizations and this employee group. The volatility of the interactions between secretaries and students/parents suggests the need for clearly defined emotional display rules, as "frequent changes in the variety of emotions displayed over a limited period of time require more planning and anticipation" (Morris & Feldman, 1996, pp. 991-992) by employees. Each time a secretary greets a student or parent, he or she needs to know how to respond to diverse interactions. For example, a call commonly received in a school office is a parent calling because his or her child has not arrived

home at the end of the school day. In some situations, this inquiry is resolved with the secretary explaining the reason for a late bus departure, but in other circumstances there is no reason to explain why the child has not arrived home. Both situations call for the secretary to display concern for the worried parent and remain calm to answer the parent's questions. However, a worried parent can quickly become an irate parent and blame the secretary for the missing child. If an organization provides clear emotional display rules to the secretary, he or she may be able to deescalate the situation. However, if the secretary becomes angry and expresses it to the parent, the situation can escalate and could interfere with locating the child. The secretary's emotional expressions to the situation can cause positive or negative outcomes for the organization and the individual (Rafaeli & Sutton, 1987). If the secretary applies display rules to deescalate the situation, the employee and organization may receive favorable comments increasing the reputation of the employee and organization (Rafaeli & Sutton, 1987). However, if the secretary's emotional display is negative, the employee could face discipline, and the organization could lose the family to another school.

The lack of research involving school-based secretaries limits our understanding of how emotional labor affects such employees. However, research indicates a greater variety of emotions an employee must display can lead to increased emotional labor (Morris & Feldman, 1996). This causes one to wonder: does the increased emotional labor involved in dealing with unpredictable situations without clear emotional expression expectations have any effect on turnover in these positions?

Secretaries play a significant role in K-12 organizations as they are often the first interaction a student or parent has when contacting the school. The influence of secretaries on an

organization identifies a future need to involve this employee group in a study to examine their perceptions of emotional display rules and identify the implications of emotional labor on them.

5.3.2 Teachers

Teachers in Pennsylvania spend approximately six to eight hours over at least 180 days per school year with students. The amount of time spent with the same students can vary from 40 minutes once a week to the entire day depending upon a teacher's assignment. During this time, hundreds of interactions occur between teachers and students, which can include but are not limited to, instruction, discipline, and personal conversations. The time spent with students leads to interactions with parents. Teachers identify professionalism as their guide for emotional display rules during these interactions (Brown, 2011), but what does this mean for emotional expression during the interactions?

Prior research identifies expectations for teachers to avoid negative emotions (e.g., anger) and display positive emotions (e.g., caring, calmness) when interacting with students (Isenbarger & Zembylas, 2006; Winograd, 2003; Yin & Lee, 2012; Zembylas, 2005). However, existing research also shows K-12 organizations provide only implied emotional display rules to guide these expectations (Brown, 2011; Hartley, 1999; Hebson et al., 2007; Isenbarger & Zembylas, 2006; Sachs & Blackmore, 1998; Yin & Lee, 2012; Winograd, 2003; Zembylas, 2005). The findings of this research appear to concur with previous research. The personnel administrators in this study indicated their organizations do not always provide teachers with emotional display rules. Existing research identifies professional norms as a means for providing implied display rules (Sachs & Blackmore, 1998). When the respondents' organizations do provide emotional display rules, they are more likely to provide direction for the displays of concern and calmness

and less likely for anger or frustration. This causes one to question if personnel administrators are depending upon the Pennsylvania Department of Education's Code of Conduct (2015) and Pennsylvania School Code (1949) to guide and direct their emotional display expectations. The Code of Conduct focuses on positive expectations for certified individuals. However, the Pennsylvania School Code of 1949 identifies reasons for dismissal including intemperance or cruelty, which may involve anger, but provides broad definitions for each. This study and extant research appear to identify alignment between teacher and organizational perspectives and may support a descriptive picture of the current state of emotional display rules in K-12 organizations, but this implies a lack of clear guidelines to help teachers to successfully perform and avoid discipline (Diefendorff & Gosserand, 2003; Zembylas, 2005).

In addition to implied display rules, research indicates a need to prepare teachers for the emotional demands of their work. Support of this finding is difficult to gauge as the responses for this group were different from the others. The personnel administrators almost equally selected orientation, training/professional development, and individual conversations. This causes one to question if the orientation and training/professional development responses truly relate to communicating emotional display rules or are the result of certification requirements for teachers from the Pennsylvania Department of Education (2015) involving induction and continuing education. One respondent actually listed "induction" as a means of communication. If this is the reason for the finding, then the study appears to support the previous need for training focused on emotional labor.

Discussion of this employee group allows one to identify possible links between the findings and existing research as well as guiding additional research. The findings of this research for teachers imply (a) emotional display rules exist often, not always, (b) positive

emotions (concern and calm) are more likely to exist than negative emotions (anger and frustration), and (c) emotional display rules are communicated via orientation, training/professional development, and individual conversations. These implications support the need for future research to develop greater understanding of the reasons and structures behind these implications. Interviews with personnel administrators could provide examination of (a) why emotional display rules are often and not always provided to teachers, (b) reasons organizations focus more on concern and calmness than on anger and frustration, and (c) how emotional display rules are communicated during orientation, training/professional development, and individual conversations.

5.3.3 Custodians

In most K-12 organizations, custodians have limited to no daily interactions with students and parents. Interactions between custodians and students and parents are often brief and infrequent. These interactions are sporadic, but any interaction with students and parents can have a significant bearing on a K-12 organization (Diefendorff, & Richard, 2003; Rafaeli & Sutton, 1987). Custodians are likely to interact with students during unstructured times with low supervision such as in hallways or cafeterias. Parental interaction occurs mostly during extra-curricular activities (e.g., athletic events; performances).

Personnel administrators reported that custodians rarely or sometimes receive emotional display expectations for interacting with students and parents. Custodians receive guidance to display calmness, but, similar to the other employee groups, expectations for anger and frustration receive less attention. The low frequency of interactions between custodians and students and parents appears to guide the personnel administrators' hesitation to provide emotional display

rules (Diefendorff & Richard, 2003). This may also explain the reason the personnel administrators identified individual conversations as the means of communicating display rules to custodians more than any other communication method. However, low frequency interactions during unstructured times may suggest a greater need to provide and educate custodians about emotional display rules.

A custodian's work usually focuses on operational tasks that provide a clean, safe physical plant for all stakeholders. Custodians may interact with students eating lunch or parents watching a basketball game. For example, a custodian may remain calm if students accidentally drop food on the cafeteria floor but could become angry if students intentionally throw food on the floor. A custodian may show concern with parents and help carry heavy items to a car but could become frustrated when asked to stop in the middle of an assignment and set up an entire room of tables an organization did not request ahead of time. The lack of defined display rules for custodian interactions with students and parents could cause the custodian to resort to expressing his or her natural feelings of anger or frustration because no other guidance is available (Diefendorff & Gosserand, 2003). In addition, the lack of clearly defined emotional display rules may cause the custodian to think displaying or suppressing emotions is not part of his or her job (Diefendorff et al., 2006). The employee's reaction could result in complaints to administration resulting in discipline and/or a shift change to avoid any future interactions.

The infrequency of interactions identifies the potential need for custodians to understand a K-12 organization's emotional display rules but raises the question as to the best method for communicating display rules. The use of individual conversations by the respondents implies a reactive approach after a custodian breaks a display rule. Training is a remedy encouraged by researchers to support emotional labor needs with teachers. However, if custodians are not likely

to apply the rules as often as teachers do, would training be effective or should organizations consider relying on written communication (e.g., handbooks) and/or collaborations with union leadership to accomplish this purpose?

The infrequency of custodians' interactions specifically with children and parents likely affects an organizations' decision not to provide emotional display rules. However, custodians have frequent interactions with co-workers through daily contact. Emotional display rules exist rarely to sometimes with students and parents, but one has to wonder: would emotional display rule expectations increase when there are more frequent interactions such as with co-workers? This identifies the need for future exploration to determine organizational emotional display expectations for custodial interactions with groups outside of students and parents.

5.3.4 Cafeteria Workers

Cafeteria workers interact with students approximately two times a day (i.e., breakfast and lunch) for approximately two to four minutes as they serve or checkout the students. Though the encounters between cafeteria workers are brief, they are relatively frequent if a cafeteria worker remains in the same position throughout a school year and students regularly purchase meals. Similar to custodians, cafeteria workers interact with students during unstructured, low supervision times.

Cafeteria workers were the only employee group to be identified as outsourced by the respondents. The outsourcing of this position may explain why the results for the communication methods for display rules were the lowest for this group compared with others. However, it is difficult to determine if outsourcing contributed to personnel administrators indicating their organizations only sometimes provide emotional display rules for cafeteria workers.

The findings indicated cafeteria workers are more likely to have emotional display rules than custodians are but less likely than secretaries and teachers. This finding connects with the likelihood that cafeteria workers interact with students daily, like teachers and secretaries, but the interactions are brief like those of custodians. Similar to all the other employee groups, cafeteria workers received more guidance in concern and calmness expression than anger and frustration.

When cafeteria workers interact with students, they are often working under a tight time schedule. The cafeteria must serve students quickly to be prepared for the next group of students and to allow students sufficient time to eat. During this time, cafeteria workers focus on efficiency, but students focus on talking with friends during the less structured time. The conflicting motivations between these groups can cause problems because the increased speed of serving can make it more difficult for cafeteria workers to provide personal service to the students, thus increasing the potential of inappropriate emotional displays (Hochschild, 1983/2012). For example, cafeterias establish procedures for students to acquire food, pay, add condiments to their lunches, and dispose of their trays. Students who do not comply with the procedures can cause additional work for cafeteria workers, which can affect serving lines. In this situation, a cafeteria worker may become angry or frustrated. However, if K-12 organizations provide emotional display rules, cafeteria workers may be able to address the issue more efficiently through regulated interactions, thereby avoiding negative interactions with students and/or affecting the serving line (Ashforth & Humphrey, 1993). However, the lack of emotional display rules may cause negative interactions, which could lead to a slowdown of service and/or faculty or parental complains to administration resulting in disciplinary measures.

Schools hold cafeteria workers to standards because of their interactions with children as shown in Section 514 of the Pennsylvania School Code (1949). However, their interactions

appear to align more with a restaurant worker than other school employees because of the type, frequency, and durations of their interactions with students. As detailed above, cafeteria workers cook and serve breakfast and lunch in set amount of time while adhering to health department guidelines and interacting with customers. The majority of their daily work appears to align with a restaurant worker. The only differences between the two positions are location (school vs. restaurant) and their customers (students vs. public). This causes one to question if the emotional display rules for cafeteria workers would align more with those of other school employees or those of a restaurant employee. In addition, one needs to question how the outsourcing of this employee group affects the emotional display rules provided by a K-12 organization. The identification of outsourcing by the personnel administrators suggested providing emotional display rules was not their organization's responsibility. However, if the cafeteria workers are interacting with a school's students, what steps should schools take to ensure alignment of emotional displays rules between a contractor and the school?

5.4 IMPLICATIONS

5.4.1 Type, Frequency, and Duration of Interactions

A discussion of the emotional display expectations by employee group identified the similarities and differences that exist among the employee groups based on the type, frequency, and duration of interactions they have with students and parents.

Current boundaries separate school employees by the type of interaction they have with students. Teachers are separate from the other employee groups because they must hold a

certification to acquire a teaching position in a school. The other employee groups do not require instructional certification for their positions. The Pennsylvania School Code (1949) adheres to this separation of employee groups by placing certificated employees in Section 1122 and all other employees in Section 514 when providing reasons for termination of school employees. Differentiating school-based employees in this manner appears overly simple and does not take into account the emotional expression expectations K-12 organizations appear to have for the employee groups.

The frequency and duration of interactions again highlights possible similarities and differences between the employee groups. All three of these employee groups' interaction frequency and duration can vary, yet they all do interact with students. Custodians are the only group whose interactions are sporadic and brief. However, organizations cannot ignore them when developing emotional display rules.

The type, frequency, and duration of interactions between employee groups may have similarities and differences, but this research and existing research imply expectations, to varying degrees, for emotional displays. The similarities across employee groups identify the need for the development of general emotional display rules, while the differences may require K-12 organizations to develop individual emotional display rules for employee groups with "high frequency and intensity" interactions. Addressing emotional display rules from both collective and individual manners could provide implications for local and state policy.

Developing collective emotional display expectations could follow the path taken by the Pennsylvania School Board Association (PSBA) when providing subscribing school districts with a template of Policy 317–Conduct/Disciplinary Procedures, which condensed conduct procedures for all employee groups into one policy. This policy merged reasons for termination from

Sections 1122 and 514 (Pennsylvania School Code, 1949) into one set of expectations. This policy identifies a manner to provide collective expectations across employee groups and offers a structured place for K-12 organizations to provide emotional display expectations in conjunction with existing conduct procedures. At the state level, the state legislature may want consider merging conduct expectations for school-based employees with the inclusion of emotional display expectations, which connect with the existing expectations that employees refrain from displays of intemperance, immorality, and cruelty (Pennsylvania School Code, 1949).

The development of individual emotional display rules for employee groups could be included in handbooks or identified on bulletin boards as done by organizations such as Walt Disney World to remind employees of expectations (Rafaeli & Sutton, 1987). In addition, the Pennsylvania Department of Education may consider incorporating emotional display rules into the recommended curriculum for induction of teachers (PDE, 2013) and principals (PDE, 2015).

5.4.2 Discipline

Employee discipline is a predictable outcome when employees exhibit emotions inappropriately. Disciplinary procedures are taxing for both the employee and organization and can result in lost work and wages, district expense, and ill will among involved parties. Yet, the findings infer that K-12 organizations provide emotional display rules rarely to often for employees groups. It is especially notable that emotional display rules for anger and frustration are less likely to exist compared with positive emotions. It is not surprising then that teachers seek guidelines regarding emotional expressions to reduce their expression of negative emotions such as frustration (Zembylas, 2002). Based upon the implied findings from this study that emotional display rules do exist, personnel administrators may want to consider incorporating questions about employee

emotional expressions when investigating disciplinary situations. Personnel administrators may want to consider asking questions to determine the wording and tone of voice used by an employee and if the interaction improved or worsened the situation, helped anyone, and involved the appropriate person/people (Kraemer & Hess, 2002). These questions may allow the personnel administrator to see if employees know and understand the organization's emotional display rules and the need for additional communication for a specific employee group or across the organization. This may also help develop connections between observable actions and emotional displays.

As a personnel administrator, I have observed employee discipline in multiple settings and witnessed the costs for an employee and organization. Exploring the effect of emotional display rules on discipline could be a useful practice for personnel administrators and a fruitful research focus (Page, 2013).

5.4.3 Preparation

Research in and outside of education supports the need to prepare and train employees to understand and apply emotional labor, including emotional display rules. The findings of this study indicate support of providing preparation and training, as the respondents reported their organizations use individual conversations more than any other form of communication. Individual conversations cause one to wonder: what is the structure, depth, and information provided during the conversations? Exclusive reliance on individual conversations for communicating expectations could diminish an organization's opportunity to provide expectations and guidance on a variety of emotional labor topics to direct and support employee emotional expressions.

Personnel administrators may want to consider offering employees varied opportunities to learn about and discuss emotional labor and display expectations. Prior to training or discussion, school-based employees need a language to communicate about emotional labor and display expectations (Kerr & Brown, 2015). Emotional expressions are inherent for most people, but understanding how these expressions involve emotional labor and having a means to discuss experiences is an acquired knowledge (Kerr & Brown, 2015). As K-12 organizations may share similar display rules and may have ones unique to their organization, personnel administrators may want to use orientation to provide an introduction of emotional labor and display expectations for all employee groups (Truta, 2012) so they have a working knowledge and language to address emotional expressions (Kerr & Brown, 2015).

Following orientation, ongoing training and coaching involving topics such as interpersonal communication skills (Richardson et al., 2008) and interpersonal guidelines (Yin et al., 2013) can continue to develop employee understanding of emotional display expectations. If K-12 organizations provide a focus on emotional displays, employees may begin to comprehend and accept display rules as required parts of their jobs (Diefendorff et al., 2006). In addition to providing training on emotional displays, close monitoring of employee emotional displays may also indicate the importance of appropriate expressions during interactions (Morris & Feldman, 1996). The development of employee knowledge and monitoring may provide a foundation for the inclusion of emotional display expectations as part of supervision and performance assessment (Diefendorff et al., 2006). These practices can affect evaluations for non-certificated employees. In addition, this may have implications for the incorporation of emotional displays into the Educator Effectiveness System (PDE, 2015).

5.5 LIMITATIONS AND DIRECTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

Implications for future research have been included throughout this chapter. However, additional consideration of future research is necessary based on the limitations of this study.

The greatest limitation to this study is the modest number of completed surveys. The low survey return renders it impossible to generalize the findings across K-12 public school organizations, because the size of the sample does not provide enough responses to be representative of the larger population (Mertens, 2010). The low response may be due to two possible factors. First, the topic of emotional expression expectations may have caused PASPA members to either not complete or avoid taking the survey. Discussion of this limitation occurred at the beginning of this chapter. The second possible factor may involve the communication method to inform PASPA members of the survey. Recipients of the survey invitation may not have opened or read it depending upon their priorities on the dates the E-Alerts arrived in their email.

Future research may require repeated follow-ups in the form of mail or phone calls to direct participants to the email communication with the survey information (Fowler, 2014). In addition, one may consider providing the survey in person at either a personnel administrators' meeting or conference, which could significantly increase the response rate (Fowler, 2014).

Another limitation exists in the data collection tool. The application of a self-administered survey allows participants to provide responses based upon their perception of the question and the frequencies provided (Choi & Pak, 2005). Respondents to this survey may have different perspectives of what constitutes telling an employee group about an emotional display. In addition, the respondents may differ in their view of how often an event needs to occur to select a given frequency. To address this limitation in the future research, one may change the

research from a quantitative to a mixed-methods approach, which would allow for follow-up interviews to understand participant perceptions of questions and frequencies.

A second limitation with the tool was the anonymity of the participants. It is common for K-12 public school organizations to register multiple members from the same organization and department as members of PASPA. This could provide repetitive findings or it could offer conflicting results for the same organization. Since the survey is anonymous, there was no way to determine this overlap. To address this limitation immediately, this researcher excluded types of K-12 organizations that may have large human resource departments such as Intermediate Units. In the future, it may be necessary to directly contact human resource department leaders and avoid going through a professional organization, which would allow for the inclusion of all K-12 public school organizations in Pennsylvania without the potential for overlap.

5.6 CONCLUSION

K-12 public school organizations face relatively new challenges as they compete to recruit and retain students. Parents and students have educational choices and are free of location and/or financial constraints of the past (Lubienski, 2013). Parents are now consumers of education focused on the "customer service" they receive from their child's school (Cucchiara et al., 2011). Just as in retail and hospitality, K-12 organizations are beginning to learn the importance of providing positive interactions with students and parents to sustain schools. The growing body of emotional labor research in education is starting to help schools understand and apply emotional labor theory to support these interactions. However, as shown in the literature review and research this is a developing focus.

Working from the framework that emotional display rules are antecedents to applying the acting strategies of emotional labor, this study suggests that emotional display rules exist for secretaries (administrative assistants), teachers, custodians, and cafeteria workers in K-12 public school organizations in Pennsylvania. However, the study implies organizations need further development of display rules, especially regarding anger and frustration, and communication methods to help employees understand their expectations.

Explaining this research to others has further established the need for its existence. When beginning this project, a colleague asked me about the topic of this study. After explaining emotional labor and its connection to K-12 organizations, the person's immediate response was "We can't tell people how to feel." At first, the statement stymied me. The person was correct. An organization cannot tell people how to feel. The colleague continued to press the point: telling people how to feel is overstepping as an organization and impeding on the individual. Restating the theory, I still was not convincing. Finally, I responded, "We don't want to tell people what emotions to feel, we need to tell them what emotions to *show*." To this, my colleague replied, "Ah, I get it now."

I set out in this study to explore emotional display rules and communication methods for specific employee groups. My hope is that this work has enabled more K-12 personnel administrators and school leaders to say, "Now I get it."

APPENDIX A

FREQUENCY OF EMOTIONAL LABOR RESEARCH THEMES

Table 12. *Frequency of Emotional Labor Research Themes*

Theme	Theme Occurrence
Emotional display rules in education	8
Negative consequences of emotional labor on teachers	6
Negative/positive effects of emotional labor	5
Emotional labor and educational reform	3
Methods to research emotional labor in education	2
Applicability of emotional labor in education	2
Application of emotional labor strategies by special education teachers	2
Usage of emotional labor to compensate for reforms	1

Table 12 (continued)

Usage of emotional labor in crises by leaders	1
Usage and mitigation of emotional labor in education work	1
Positive effects of emotional labor	1
Emotional labor effects on leadership	1
Emotional labor and professional identity	1
Emotional acting teacher/student relationships	1
Emotional acting in teacher/student relationships	1
Emotional acting in teacher/stakeholder relationships	1
Effects of emotional labor on job satisfaction	1
Application of emotional labor strategies by teachers	1

APPENDIX B

MATRIX OF SURVEY WITH REFERENCES

Table 13. *Matrix of Survey with References*

Question Number	Research Question	Type of Question	Survey Question	Method of Measurement	References
Q1		Demographic	Type of K-12 Public Organization (Qualifying Question)	• School District • Intermediate Unit • Career and Technology Center • Brick and Mortar Charter School • Cyber Charter School • None of the Above	

Table 13 (continued)

Q2		Demographic	Personnel Administrator Title	• Personnel/Human Resources Director • Personnel/Human Resources Manager • Personnel/Human Resources Specialist • Personnel/Human Resources Administrative Assistant • Assistant Superintendent • Superintendent • Principal • Assistant Principal • Other	(J. Antis, personal communication, December 1, 2014).
Q3		Demographic	Please enter the approximate number of professional, clerical, custodial, and cafeteria employees in your organization.	Input number	
Q4		Demographic	Location of School	• City (urban) • Suburb • Town • Rural	NCES, n.d.

Table 13 (continued)

Q5	Research Question 1	Closed Question	Your K-12 public school organization sets clear expectations for ***secretaries (administrative assistants)*** about showing: • Anger when interacting with ***students*** • Sadness when working with ***students*** • Frustration when interacting with ***students*** • Calmness when interacting with students • Happiness when interacting with ***students*** • Concern when interacting with ***students***	Likert Scale (Always, Often, Sometimes, Rarely, Never)	**Calm** (Winograd, 2003, p. 1652; Zembylas, 2002, p. 201; Zembylas, 2005, p. 942) **Anger** (Isenbarger & Zembylas, 2006, p. 132; Sachs & Blackmore, 1998, p. 272; Winograd, 2003, pp. 1642, 1652; Yin & Lee, 2012, p. 63; Zembylas, 2002, p. 201; Zembylas, 2005, p. 942) **Happiness** (Winograd, 2003, p. 1653; Yin & Lee, 2012, p. 61) **Sadness** (Isenbarger & Zembylas, 2006, p. 128; Winograd, 2003, p. 1652; Yin & Lee, 2012, p. 60) **Caring**(Isenbarger & Zembylas, 2006, p. 132; Winograd, 2003, p. 1645; Zembylas, 2005, p. 942) **Frustration** (Isenbarger & Zembylas, 2006, p. 132; Winograd, 2003, p. 1645; Zembylas, 2005, p. 942)

Table 13 (continued)

Q6	Research Question 1	Closed Question	Your K-12 public school organization sets clear expectations for ***secretaries (administrative assistants)*** about showing: • Anger when interacting with ***parents*** • Sadness when working with ***parents*** • Frustration when interacting with ***parents*** • Calmness when interacting with ***parents*** • Happiness when interacting with ***parents*** • Concern when interacting with ***parents***	Likert Scale (Always, Often, Sometimes, Rarely, Never)	**Calm** (Winograd, 2003, p. 1652; Zembylas, 2002, p. 201; Zembylas, 2005, p. 942) **Anger** (Isenbarger & Zembylas, 2006, p. 132; Sachs & Blackmore, 1998, p. 272; Winograd, 2003, pp. 1642, 1652; Yin & Lee, 2012, p. 63; Zembylas, 2002, p. 201; Zembylas, 2005, p. 942) **Happiness** (Winograd, 2003, p. 1653; Yin & Lee, 2012, p. 61) **Sadness** (Isenbarger & Zembylas, 2006, p. 128; Winograd, 2003, p. 1652; Yin & Lee, 2012, p. 60) **Caring**(Isenbarger & Zembylas, 2006, p. 132; Winograd, 2003, p. 1645; Zembylas, 2005, p. 942) **Frustration** (Isenbarger & Zembylas, 2006, p. 132; Winograd, 2003, p. 1645; Zembylas, 2005, p. 942)

Table 13 (continued)

Q7	Research Question 1	Closed Question	Your K-12 public school organization sets clear expectations for ***teachers*** about showing: • Anger when interacting with ***students*** • Sadness when working with ***students*** • Frustration when interacting with ***students*** • Calmness when interacting with ***students*** • Happiness when interacting with ***students*** • Concern when interacting with ***students***	Likert Scale (Always, Often, Sometimes, Rarely, Never)	**Calm** (Winograd, 2003, 1652; Zembylas, 2002, p.201; Zembylas, 2005, p. 942) **Anger** (Isenbarger & Zembylas, 2006, p. 132; Sachs & Blackmore, 1998, p. 272; Winograd, 2003, pp. 1642, 1652; Yin & Lee, 2012, p. 63; Zembylas, 2002, p. 201; Zembylas, 2005, p. 942) **Happiness** (Winograd, 2003, p. 1653; Yin & Lee, 2012, p. 61) **Sadness** (Isenbarger & Zembylas, 2006, p. 128; Winograd, 2003, p. 1652; Yin & Lee, 2012, p.60) **Caring**(Isenbarger & Zembylas, 2006, p. 132; Winograd, 2003, p. 1645; Zembylas, 2005, p. 942) **Frustration** (Isenbarger & Zembylas, 2006, p. 132; Winograd, 2003, p. 1645; Zembylas, 2005, p. 942)

Table 13 (continued)

Q8	Research Question 1	Closed Question (Quantitative)	Your K-12 public school organization sets clear expectations for ***teachers*** about showing: • Anger when interacting with ***parents*** • Sadness when working with ***parents*** • Frustration when interacting with ***parents*** • Calmness when interacting with ***parents*** • Happiness when interacting with ***parents*** • Concern when interacting with ***parents***	Likert Scale (Always, Often, Sometimes, Rarely, Never)	**Calm** (Winograd, 2003, 1652; Zembylas, 2002, p. 201; Zembylas, 2005, p. 942) **Anger** (Isenbarger & Zembylas, 2006, p. 132; Sachs & Blackmore, 1998, p. 272; Winograd, 2003, pp. 1642, 1652; Yin & Lee, 2012, p. 63; Zembylas, 2002, p.201; Zembylas, 2005, p. 942) **Happiness** (Winograd, 2003, p. 1653; Yin & Lee, 2012, p.61) **Sadness** (Isenbarger & Zembylas, 2006, p. 128; Winograd, 2003, p. 1652; Yin & Lee, 2012, p. 60) **Caring**(Isenbarger & Zembylas, 2006, p. 132; Winograd, 2003, p. 1645; Zembylas, 2005, p. 942) **Frustration** (Isenbarger & Zembylas, 2006, p. 132; Winograd, 2003, p. 1645; Zembylas, 2005, p. 942)

Table 13 (continued)

Q9	Research Question 1	Closed Question	Your K-12 public school organization sets clear expectations for ***custodians*** about showing: • Anger when interacting with ***students*** • Sadness when working with ***students*** • Frustration when interacting with ***students*** • Calmness when interacting with ***students*** • Happiness when interacting with ***students*** • Concern when interacting with ***students***	Likert Scale (Always, Often, Sometimes, Rarely, Never)	**Calm** (Winograd, 2003,p. 1652; Zembylas, 2002, p. 201; Zembylas, 2005, p. 942) **Anger** (Isenbarger & Zembylas, 2006, p. 132; Sachs & Blackmore, 1998, p. 272; Winograd, 2003, pp. 1642, 1652; Yin & Lee, 2012, p. 63; Zembylas, 2002, p. 201; Zembylas, 2005, p. 942) **Happiness** (Winograd, 2003, p. 1653; Yin & Lee, 2012, p. 61) **Sadness** (Isenbarger & Zembylas, 2006, p. 128; Winograd, 2003, p. 1652; Yin & Lee, 2012, p. 60) **Caring**(Isenbarger & Zembylas, 2006, p. 132; Winograd, 2003, p. 1645; Zembylas, 2005, p. 942) **Frustration** (Isenbarger & Zembylas, 2006, p. 132; Winograd, 2003, p. 1645; Zembylas, 2005, p. 942)

Table 13 (continued)

Q10	Research Question 1	Closed Question	Your K-12 public school organization sets clear expectations for ***custodians*** about showing: • Anger when interacting with ***parents*** • Sadness when working with ***parents*** • Frustration when interacting with ***parents*** • Calmness when interacting with ***parents*** • Happiness when interacting with ***parents*** • Concern when interacting with ***parents***	Likert Scale (Always, Often, Sometimes, Rarely, Never)	**Calm** (Winograd, 2003, p. 1652; Zembylas, 2002, p. 201; Zembylas, 2005, p. 942) **Anger** (Isenbarger & Zembylas, 2006, p. 132; Sachs & Blackmore, 1998, p. 272; Winograd, 2003, pp. 1642, 1652; Yin & Lee, 2012, p. 63; Zembylas, 2002, p. 201; Zembylas, 2005, p. 942) **Happiness** (Winograd, 2003, p. 1653; Yin & Lee, 2012, p. 61) **Sadness** (Isenbarger & Zembylas, 2006, p. 128; Winograd, 2003, p. 1652; Yin & Lee, 2012, p. 60) **Caring**(Isenbarger & Zembylas, 2006, p. 132; Winograd, 2003, p. 1645; Zembylas, 2005, p. 942) **Frustration** (Isenbarger & Zembylas, 2006, p. 132; Winograd, 2003, p. 1645; Zembylas, 2005, p. 942)

Table 13 (continued)

Q11	Research Question 1	Closed Question	Your K-12 public school organization sets clear expectations for ***cafeteria workers*** about showing: • Anger when interacting with ***students*** • Sadness when working with ***students*** • Frustration when interacting with ***students*** • Calmness when interacting with ***students*** • Happiness when interacting with ***students*** • Concern when interacting with ***students***	Likert Scale (Always, Often, Sometimes, Rarely, Never)	**Calm** (Winograd, 2003, p. 1652; Zembylas, 2002, p. 201; Zembylas, 2005, p. 942) **Anger** (Isenbarger & Zembylas, 2006, p. 132; Sachs & Blackmore, 1998, p. 272; Winograd, 2003, pp. 1642, 1652; Yin & Lee, 2012, p. 63; Zembylas, 2002, p.201; Zembylas, 2005, p. 942) **Happiness** (Winograd, 2003, p. 1653; Yin & Lee, 2012, p. 61) **Sadness** (Isenbarger & Zembylas, 2006, p. 128; Winograd, 2003, p. 1652; Yin & Lee, 2012, p. 60) **Caring**(Isenbarger & Zembylas, 2006, p. 132; Winograd, 2003, p. 1645; Zembylas, 2005, p. 942) **Frustration** (Isenbarger & Zembylas, 2006, p. 132; Winograd, 2003, p. 1645; Zembylas, 2005, p. 942)
Q12	Research Question 2	Closed Question	***Secretaries (administrative assistants)*** are informed of organizational expectations for displaying emotions through:	Nominal (Select all that apply) • Orientation • Training/ Professional Development • Handbook • Administrative Memo • Individual Conversation • Other • None of the Above	• **Training/Professional Development** (Brown, 2011, p. 82; Chang, 2009, p. 212; Cheung et al., 2011, p. 20; Kinman et al., 2011, p. 851; Oplatka, 2007, p. 1396; Richardson et al., 2008, p. 19; Yin et al., 2013, p. 138) • **Handbooks** (Pfister, 2014) • **Orientation/Early Career Support** (Mackenzie, 2012, p. 1080; Truta, 2012, p. 800) • **Memos and Protocols** (Zembylas, 2005, p. 940)

Table 13 (continued)

Q13			***Teachers*** are informed of organizational expectations for displaying emotions through:		
Q14			***Custodians*** are informed of organizational expectations for displaying emotions through:		
Q15			***Cafeteria workers*** are informed of organizational expectations for displaying emotions through:		
Q16		Closed Question	Are there any employee groups or emotional expressions we have overlooked? If your response is yes, please list the employee group(s) and/or emotional expression(s) that you would recommend adding.	Nominal • Yes • No	

APPENDIX C

PARTICIPANT SURVEY FROM QUALTRICS

Q1 Please select the type of K-12 public school for your organization.
- ❍ School District (1)
- ❍ Intermediate Unit (2)
- ❍ Career and Technology Center (3)
- ❍ Brick and Mortar Charter School (4)
- ❍ Cyber Charter School (5)
- ❍ None of the Above (6)

Q2 What is the title of your position in your K-12 public school organization?
- ❍ Personnel/Human Resources Director (1)
- ❍ Personnel/Human Resources Manager (2)
- ❍ Personnel/Human Resources Specialist (3)
- ❍ Personnel/Human Resources Administrative Assistant (4)
- ❍ Assistant Superintendent (5)
- ❍ Superintendent (6)
- ❍ Principal (7)
- ❍ Assistant Principal (8)
- ❍ Other (9) _____

Q3 Please enter the approximate number of professional, clerical, custodial, and cafeteria employees in your organization.

Q4 How would you describe the location of your K-12 public school organization?
- ❍ City (urban) (1)
- ❍ Suburb (2)
- ❍ Town (3)
- ❍ Rural (4)

Each day, K-12 public school employees interact with students and parents. The employees with the greatest interactions are secretaries (administrative assistants), teachers, custodians, and cafeteria workers. The interactions these employees have with students and parents can be positive and negative. During these interactions, employees are likely to express emotions.

The following questions will ask how frequently your organization provides clear expectations for the expression of positive and negative emotions by secretaries (administrative assistants), teachers, custodians, and cafeteria workers when interacting with students and parents.

Q5 Your K-12 public school organization sets clear expectations for ***secretaries (administrative assistants)*** about showing:

	Never (1)	Rarely (2)	Sometimes (3)	Often (4)	Always (5)
Anger when interacting with ***students***. (1)	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Sadness when working with ***students***. (2)	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Frustration when interacting with ***students***. (3)	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Calmness when interacting with ***students***. (4)	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Happiness when interacting with ***students***. (5)	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Concern when interacting with ***students***. (6)	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍

Q6 Your K-12 public school organization sets clear expectations for ***secretaries (administrative assistants)*** about showing:

	Never (1)	Rarely (2)	Sometimes (3)	Often (4)	Always (5)
Anger when interacting with ***parents***. (1)	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Sadness when working with ***parents***. (2)	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Frustration when interacting with ***parents***. (3)	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Calmness when interacting with ***parents***. (4)	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Happiness when interacting with ***parents***. (5)	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Concern when interacting with ***parents***. (6)	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍

Q7 Your K-12 public school organization sets clear expectations for ***teachers*** about showing:

	Never (1)	Rarely (2)	Sometimes (3)	Often (4)	Always (5)
Anger when interacting with ***students***. (1)	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Sadness when interacting with ***students***. (2)	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Frustration when interacting with ***students***. (3)	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Calmness when interacting with ***students***. (4)	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Happiness when working with ***students***. (5)	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Concern when interacting with ***students***. (6)	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍

Q8 Your K-12 public school organization sets clear expectations for ***teachers*** about showing:

	Never (1)	Rarely (2)	Sometimes (3)	Often (4)	Always (5)
Anger when interacting with ***parents***. (1)	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Sadness when working with ***parents***. (2)	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Frustration when interacting with ***parents***. (3)	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Calmness when interacting with ***parents***. (4)	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Happiness when interacting with ***parents***. (5)	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Concern when interacting with ***parents***. (6)	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍

Q9 Your K-12 public school organization sets clear expectations for ***custodians*** about showing:

	Never (1)	Rarely (2)	Sometimes (3)	Often (4)	Always (5)
Anger when interacting with ***students***. (1)	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Sadness when interacting with ***students***. (2)	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Frustration when interacting with ***students***. (3)	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Calmness when interacting with ***students***. (4)	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Happiness when interacting with ***students***. (5)	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Concern when interacting with ***students***. (6)	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍

Q10 Your K-12 public school organization sets clear expectations for ***custodians*** about showing:

	Never (1)	Rarely (2)	Sometimes (3)	Often (4)	Always (5)
Anger when interacting with ***parents***. (1)	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Sadness when working with ***parents***. (2)	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Frustration when interacting with ***parents***. (3)	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Calmness when interacting with ***parents***. (4)	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Happiness when interacting with ***parents***. (5)	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Concern when interacting with ***parents***. (6)	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍

Q11 Your K-12 public school organization sets clear expectations for ***cafeteria workers*** about showing:

	Never (1)	Rarely (2)	Sometimes (3)	Often (4)	Always (5)
Anger when interacting with ***students***. (1)	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Sadness when interacting with ***students***. (2)	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Frustration when interacting with ***students***. (3)	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Calmness when interacting with ***students***. (4)	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Happiness when interacting with ***students***. (5)	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍
Concern when interacting with ***students***. (6)	❍	❍	❍	❍	❍

The next set of questions will ask how your organization communicates expectations for emotional expressions to secretaries (administrative assistants), teachers, custodians, and cafeteria workers.

Q12 ***Secretaries (administrative assistants)*** are informed of organizational expectations for displaying emotions through: (Please select all that apply.)

- ❑ Orientation (1)
- ❑ Training/Professional Development (2)
- ❑ Handbook (3)
- ❑ Administrative Memo (4)
- ❑ Individual Conversation (5)
- ❑ Other (6) _____
- ❑ None of the Above (7)

Q13 ***Teachers*** are informed of organizational expectations for displaying emotions through: (Please select all that apply.)

- ❑ Orientation (1)
- ❑ Training/Professional Development (2)
- ❑ Handbook (3)
- ❑ Administrative Memo (4)
- ❑ Individual Conversation (5)
- ❑ Other (6) _____
- ❑ None of the Above (7)

Q14 ***Custodians*** are informed of organizational expectations for displaying emotions through: (Please select all that apply.)

- ❑ Orientation (1)
- ❑ Training/Professional Development (2)
- ❑ Handbook (3)
- ❑ Administrative Memo (4)
- ❑ Individual Conversation (5)
- ❑ Other (6) _____
- ❑ None of the Above (7)

Q15 ***Cafeteria Workers*** are informed of organizational expectations for displaying emotions through: (Please select all that apply.)

- ❑ Orientation (1)
- ❑ Training/Professional Development (2)
- ❑ Handbook (3)
- ❑ Administrative Memo (4)
- ❑ Individual Conversation (5)
- ❑ Other (6) _____
- ❑ None of the Above (7)

Q16 Are there any employee groups or emotional expressions we have overlooked? If your response is yes, please list the employee group(s) and/or emotional expression(s) that you would recommend adding.

- ❍ Yes (1) _____
- ❍ No (2)

APPENDIX D

PASPA E-ALERTS

D.1 E-ALERT 1 SENT MARCH 10, 2015

Research Participation Request – A colleague of ours, Ms. Lindsay Pfister, a doctorate student at the University of Pittsburgh, is requesting your participation in a research survey. The purpose of this research study is to explore the expectations K-12 public school organizations have for the way employee's express emotions. For this study, she will be surveying personnel administrators who are members of the Pennsylvania Association of School Personnel Administrators and asking them to complete a questionnaire that will take approximately 15 minutes.

All participants must be 18 years or older and be a personnel administrator in a K-12 public school organization in Pennsylvania. If you are willing to participate, this survey will ask about background (type of K-12 public school organization, position title, number of employees, and school location), in addition to your organization's expectations for employee emotional expression and communication methods of conveying expectations. There are no foreseeable risks associated with this project, nor are there any direct benefits to you.

You will not receive any payment for participating in this survey. This is an anonymous survey, and your responses will not be identifiable in any way. All responses are confidential, and results will be kept under lock and key and in password-protected files. Your participation is voluntary, and you may stop completing the survey at any time.
You can reach Lindsay Pfister at mailto:LLP27@pitt.edu if you have any questions.

The survey will conclude on Tuesday, March 31, 2015. To complete the survey please click on the following linkhttps://pitt.co1.qualtrics.com/SE/?SID=SV_6mRxQojTDzrzdDD

You will receive one additional contact before the survey closes to remind you of the ending date of the survey for those who choose to participate.

D.2 E-ALERT 2 SENT MARCH 24, 2015

REMINDER Research Participation Request – A colleague of ours, Ms. Lindsay Pfister, a doctorate student at the University of Pittsburgh, is requesting your participation in a research survey. The purpose of this research study is to explore the expectations K-12 public school organizations have for the way employee's express emotions. For this study, she will be surveying personnel administrators who are members of the Pennsylvania Association of School Personnel Administrators and asking them to complete a questionnaire that will take approximately 15 minutes.

All participants must be 18 years or older and be a personnel administrator in a K-12 public school organization in Pennsylvania. If you are willing to participate, this survey will ask about background (type of K-12 public school organization, position title, number of employees, and school location), in addition to your organization's expectations for employee emotional expression and communication methods of conveying expectations. There are no foreseeable risks associated with this project, nor are there any direct benefits to you. You will not receive any payment for participating in this survey. This is an anonymous survey, and your responses will not be identifiable in any way. All responses are confidential, and results will be kept under lock and key and in password-protected files. Your participation is voluntary, and you may stop completing the survey at any time.

You can reach Lindsay LLP27@pitt.edu, if you have any questions.

The survey will conclude on Tuesday, March 31, 2015. To complete the survey please click on the following link https://pitt.co1.qualtrics.com/SE/?SID=SV_6mRxQojTDzrzdDD.

D.3 E-ALERT 3 SENT APRIL 7, 2015

Final Research Request: Recently, PASPA member Lindsay Pfister sent a request via E-Alert asking member participation in completion of her doctoral research survey. Response was somewhat less than hoped for making it difficult to validate conclusions. Permission has been granted by the university IRB to extend the deadline for conclusion of the survey in an effort to gain additional survey response. If you have not previously completed the survey, please consider taking a few minutes to do so in support of our colleague's research. The final request, related survey information and response links are provided below.

A colleague of ours, Ms. Lindsay Pfister, a doctorate student at the University of Pittsburgh, is requesting your participation in a research survey. The purpose of this research study is to explore the expectations K-12 public school organizations have for the way employee's express

emotions. For this study, she will be surveying personnel administrators who are members of the Pennsylvania Association of School Personnel Administrators.

She is asking PASPA members to complete the online questionnaire that will take approximately 10 minutes.

All participants must be 18 years or older and be a personnel administrator in a K-12 public school organization in Pennsylvania. If you are willing to participate, this survey will ask about background (type of K-12 public school organization, position title, number of employees, and school location), in addition to your organization's expectations for employee emotional expression and communication methods of conveying expectations. There are no foreseeable risks associated with this project, nor are there any direct benefits to you. You will not receive any payment for participating in this survey. This is an anonymous survey, and your responses will not be identifiable in any way. All responses are confidential, and results will be kept under lock and key and in password-protected files. Your participation is voluntary, and you may stop completing the survey at any time.

You can reach Lindsay LLP27@pitt.edu, if you have any questions.

The survey will conclude on April 10, 2015. To complete the survey please click on the following link https://pitt.co1.qualtrics.com/SE/?SID=SV_6mRxQojTDzrzdDD.

APPENDIX E

FREQUENCY TABLES

Table 14. ***Emotional display expectations for secretary (administrative assistants)-student interactions.***

		Frequency of responses							
Domain	*N*	(1) Never	(2) Rarely	(3) Sometimes	(4) Often	(5) Always	*Median*	*M*	*SD*
Anger	38	6	2	7	9	14	4	3.6	1.4
Sadness	37	3	5	12	10	7	3	3.4	1.2
Frustration	38	4	4	8	11	11	4	3.6	1.3
Calmness	38	1	4	5	10	18	4	4.1	1.1
Happiness	38	1	4	7	10	16	4	3.9	1.1
Concern	38	–	2	8	8	20	5	4.2	1.0

Table 15. ***Emotional display expectations for secretary (administrative assistants)--parent interactions***

		Frequency of responses							
Domain	*N*	(1) Never	(2) Rarely	(3) Sometimes	(4) Often	(5) Always	*Median*	*M*	*SD*
Anger	38	6	2	7	8	15	4	3.6	1.5
Sadness	37	4	7	11	6	9	3	3.2	1.3
Frustration	38	6	2	8	8	14	4	3.6	1.4
Calmness	38	1	2	5	10	20	5	4.2	1.0
Happiness	38	2	4	6	11	15	4	3.9	1.2
Concern	38	–	3	10	9	16	4	4.0	1.0

Table 16. ***Emotional display expectations for teacher-student interactions***

		Frequency of responses							
Domain	*N*	(1) Never	(2) Rarely	(3) Sometimes	(4) Often	(5) Always	*Median*	*M*	*SD*
Anger	38	5	1	3	17	12	4	3.8	1.3
Sadness	38	2	3	10	15	8	4	3.6	1.1
Frustration	37	4	1	6	16	10	4	3.7	1.2
Calmness	38	1	-	4	16	17	4	4.3	0.9
Happiness	38	1	1	7	18	11	4	4.0	0.9
Concern	38	-	-	4	16	18	4	4.4	0.7

Table 17. ***Emotional display expectations for teacher-parent interactions***

		Frequency of responses							
Domain	*N*	(1) Never	(2) Rarely	(3) Sometimes	(4) Often	(5) Always	*Median*	*M*	*SD*
Anger	37	6	-	3	15	13	4	3.8	1.4
Sadness	37	3	4	9	14	7	4	3.5	1.2
Frustration	37	3	2	5	16	11	4	3.8	1.2
Calmness	37	1	1	3	14	18	4	4.3	0.9
Happiness	37	1	2	5	16	13	4	4.0	1.0
Concern	37	-	1	5	13	18	4	4.3	0.8

Table 18. ***Emotional display expectations for custodian-student interactions***

		Frequency of responses							
Domain	*N*	(1) Never	(2) Rarely	(3) Sometimes	(4) Often	(5) Always	*Median*	*M*	*SD*
Anger	38	6	6	8	8	10	3	3.3	1.4
Sadness	38	6	10	11	6	5	3	2.8	1.3
Frustration	38	7	7	9	8	7	3	3.0	1.4
Calmness	38	1	7	9	7	14	4	3.7	1.2
Happiness	38	3	7	11	9	8	3	3.3	1.2
Concern	38	1	7	13	7	10	3	3.5	1.2

Table 19. ***Emotional display expectations for custodian-parent interactions***

		Frequency of responses							
Domain	*N*	(1) Never	(2) Rarely	(3) Sometimes	(4) Often	(5) Always	*Median*	*M*	*SD*
Anger	36	8	7	9	5	7	3	2.9	1.4
Sadness	36	8	10	10	5	3	2.5	2.6	1.2
Frustration	35	9	7	10	4	5	3	2.7	1.4
Calmness	35	3	7	9	4	12	3	3.4	1.4
Happiness	36	5	7	11	7	6	3	3.1	1.3
Concern	36	4	7	12	6	7	3	3.1	1.3

Table 20. ***Emotional display expectations for cafeteria worker-student interactions***

		Frequency of responses							
Domain	*N*	(1) Never	(2) Rarely	(3) Sometimes	(4) Often	(5) Always	*Median*	*M*	*SD*
Anger	35	5	3	10	8	9	3	3.4	1.4
Sadness	35	4	7	12	8	4	3	3.0	1.2
Frustration	35	5	3	11	9	7	3	3.3	1.3
Calmness	35	1	5	10	7	12	4	3.7	1.2
Happiness	35	2	6	10	8	9	3	3.5	1.2
Concern	35	1	4	12	6	12	4	3.7	1.2

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